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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

PRINCESS LIEVEN AND EARL GREY

Grey.

London, Richard Bentley & Son, 1850

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

PRINCESS LIEVEN

AND

EARL GREY

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

GUY LE STRANGE

WITH PORTRAITS

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VOL. II.

1830 TO 1834

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CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

PRINCESS LIEVEN AND OF EARL GREY.

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GEORGE IV. AND WILLIAM IV.

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[In the month of June, Princess Lieven left England on a visit to Russia. It seems to have been uncertain at the time of her departure how long this absence from England might last.

May 16, Charles X. dissolved the Chamber, and both parties were now preparing for the decisive struggle.

On May 21, Prince Leopold had definitely declined the sovereignty of Greece. During the interregnum Count Capo d'Istria continued to rule.]

To Earl Grey.

Saturday morning [*June 5th*, 1830].

I cannot go away, my dear lord, without once again saying adieu. I feel very sad, and you, in a considerable measure, are the cause of my sadness. Do not forget me; do not forget to write to me. Your letters will be my greatest pleasure. . . .

Some news has just reached me. The King was much worse yesterday. An attack of vomiting came on after eating some figs. He thought he was dying; he saw the Bishop,* and begged him not to leave him. The Duke of Cumberland thought him looking rather better than last Monday. The King, who was very low, only saw him for ten minutes. Aberdeen was with him five minutes only. The Duke of Clarence did not go to Windsor, excusing himself on the plea of illness; nevertheless he went with the Duchess and the Princess Augusta to Richmond to pay a visit to Lady Downshire, going round by L——. This is all my news.

We start in the course of to-day, and I am going out to see my children once more before leaving. It made me so sad yesterday to say good-bye to you, that I have not courage to go through it again. Except for this, I should beg you to come once more. But it is better not, for I want all my strength for my journey. If I think better of it, I will write you a line.

Meanwhile, once more, adieu.

* The Bishop of Chichester, Clerk of the Closet.

To Earl Grey.

Dover,
Monday morning, June 7th [1830].

A few more words, my dear lord, before leaving England that I love so well and quit with such regret. We found Matuscewitz waiting for us here. He was all night long talking to my husband; his pockets are not so full as I had imagined.

Polignac is obstinate, and has, as yet, yielded nothing. His reign is drawing to an end. The news that has recently reached him from the country is very disquieting both to him and to the King. The Ministry will have to count on fifty votes the less in the next Chamber. In six weeks' time Polignac's last hour as Minister will have sounded; his successor will be Villèle or the Duc de Mortemart.

My husband's interview with the Duke of Wellington yesterday was most satisfactory in all that related to business; as regards personal matters, there was no reference made either to my husband's journey, or his return, or to myself. The Duke of Wellington assures him that the King will yet disappoint many calculations; that he might still get well, and live for years if only he would follow a more strict regimen; and that even in not doing this, he may last a long time, for his strength of constitution is quite extraordinary. Without believing all this implicitly, I am delighted that yesterday's bulletin should have been better, because this gives our departure a less bad appearance. Ah! what an ugly word 'departure' is to me—and the thing itself is uglier!

Good-bye—do not forget me.

Write to me every week, and write long letters, and about everything. Believe that I shall think of you very often, and that means always.

P.S.—I made several droll discoveries yesterday evening during a quarter of an hour's conversation with M[atuscewitz]. He is not my friend; that is very evident. He is enchanted at my departure, because he wishes to be everything with the Ministers. This is a disagreeable discovery, for I had believed him to be really attached to me. I think I shall never trust in anyone again but yourself. Good-bye, dear, dear Lord Grey. Remember me always, and with affection.

To Princess Lieven.

June 11th, 1830.

I received your letter from Dover on Tuesday morning. A poor substitute for my daily visit, but it made me very happy, as a proof of your kindness and remembrance. How I have missed you, and how I shall count the months and weeks till you return! But am I to expect that happiness? . . . . . * You may remember this suspicion rose in my mind long ago. All your good friends here will be eager to avail themselves of M[atuscewitz]'s assistance, and I cannot help fearing their success.

Nothing new has occurred since you left us. On Monday morning the King was thought to be dying. Halford told him of his situation, and sent an express

* A line of Lord Grey's letter has here been scratched out by the Princess.

to the Duke of Wellington, who left London to go to Windsor at three o'clock. On his arrival, he found the King asleep—went to dine at Lord Maryborough's —returned to the Castle between ten and eleven, and hearing that the King was tranquil, and did not know that he had been sent for, came back to town without seeing him. The King has since rallied a little, and from having believed that he could not live twenty-four hours, the physicians, I hear, now again talk of the possibility of his lasting days, or even weeks. He is said to have borne Halford's communication with great firmness, has had another leave-taking with his sisters, and was to see the Duke of Clarence again yesterday. Further I know not.

In the meantime things go on as usual in Parliament. In the House of Commons the weakness of the Ministers is daily more apparent. In two divisions, the other day, they had on one only a majority of nineteen, the question being on the expenses of the Missions in South America ; on the other, they were beaten (the question—the punishment of death for forgery), and the Bill being introduced by Peel himself renders this proof of his want of power and influence in the House the more remarkable. In short, happen what may, there must be some change to give the Ministry more strength in the Houses of Parliament. In what manner this is to be effected, must depend upon the disposition of the new Sovereign. If, as many believe, and as the friends of the Ministers confidently report, he shall determine to leave the Administration as it is for the present, and they have the choosing of the new Parliament, the probability, in my opinion, is that the old mode of picking off individuals will be resorted to in

the summer; and that, for doing this, great facilities will be afforded them by the appearance of support and confidence in the Court. Perhaps my wish is father to this thought, for when I think of the scene of embarrassment, vexation, and intrigue which anybody who is concerned in such matters must have to go through, with the certainty that, do what he may, he will create more enemies than he can make friends, I cannot help thinking that anybody who, in almost the last stage of life, embarks on such a sea of troubles, can expect only the loss of ease and comfort, of health, and, perhaps, life itself, without much hope, in the present state of things, of being able to do much good.

In the House of Lords there has been, as usual, little or nothing doing. There was one conversation on the Greek papers, which affords nothing to remark on, except that Aberdeen appeared to be very fretful. What he will do, if he comes to a closer conflict, I don't know. But it does not appear to me that there is any very good way of bringing on a question on the Greek negotiations, or any very great advantage in doing it. The whole business is buried in such a mass of papers, creates so little interest, and is so little generally understood, that though many objections may be made to the conduct of our Government, I do not think they will make much impression; the more especially as they have some plausible topics on their side, if they know how to use them, besides the advantage of stating that the matter is in a fair way of being settled with the concurrence of the Allies.

Here is a very barren letter, but you desire me to

write, and I have too much pleasure in doing so not to obey your commands. You may depend upon hearing from me every week, and I count as confidently on your promise of writing frequently.

God bless you.

G.

Berkeley Square,
June 17th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just received a message from Ashburnham House to say that some person is to set off to-morrow morning to meet you at Warsaw, and will take charge of any letter that I may have to send. I therefore hasten to avail myself of this opportunity, though I have little time, and still less to say. There is really no alteration in the circumstances in which you left us. Everything is suspended, as the *marchande de modes* said to Lady Grey, '*en attendant la décision du Roi.*' This has been put off beyond all expectation, and the improved bulletins of the last five days have encouraged many to believe that he may really recover. But of this you will not be surprised to hear that no rational being entertains the slightest hope. The event may be retarded by an extraordinary natural strength of constitution, and by the constant attention of the physicians. But it is not the less certain. Indeed, if I can believe what I hear privately, the King's strength is diminishing, though his sufferings are less. The relief was obtained, it was said a few days ago, by puncturing the cavity of the chest to discharge the water. This is now denied, and the apparent improvement is attributed to the use of *elaterium*, a most

powerful but most dangerous medicine, of which a physician of antiquity says: '*Elaterium esse in catalogo diaboli, quo necat homines.*' I believe you know enough Latin to translate this; if not, it is no matter. The heir to the Crown continues to reside quietly at Bushey, and I have heard nothing of him that affords more grounds for speculating on his future conduct than when you were here.

In Parliament things go on also exactly in the same way. In the House of Commons the weakness of the Ministers is daily more apparent. They exist there only by concessions, and by small majorities when they venture to divide. This, I know, has created great anxiety and uneasiness in the Cabinet, and particularly in Peel; and well it may, for the whole burden falls upon him. Whatever may happen, they must do something to strengthen their ranks there; which will not be easy, without more extensive changes than would be agreeable to the Duke of Wellington. I do not hear, however, that he shows any disposition to take measures for this purpose. But, indeed, the time is hardly come, when it would be possible for him to do so, as the King is not in a state for any proposition of this nature to be made to him.

In the House of Lords there has been nothing done except some more questions from Lord Londonderry, leading to very desultory and unimportant conversations, in which I have abstained from taking any part. I shall have a little battle of my own, on a Bill relative to Ireland, if the Ministers oppose it; of which there was at one time some indication, but of which they may probably think better. Though a public Bill, some private interests are affected by it, which

occasion a good deal of canvassing. What the result of this may be I cannot calculate; but otherwise I should have, I think, a very good chance of carrying it. The Tories muster every day in great strength on the cross-benches, where the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Eldon have resumed their seats. Report says, and there certainly is a great appearance of it, that they have formed themselves into a more regular party, and will not be unwilling to avail themselves of any question that may arise to show their hostility to the Duke. On the other hand, the Duke of Buckingham has taken his seat behind the Ministers. Whether this denotes more than a disposition to support them (which will not last long, if his expectations, which are not likely to be very moderate, are not satisfied), I know not. He is both personally, and from his connections, the most unpopular man, perhaps, in England; but I suspect he has more influence than such a man ought to have with the Duke of Clarence, and this may make him of some importance.

I am in every respect as I was, except that I am not well, though not materially otherwise, and tired to death of this town. I miss my morning visits, and, what is worse, I have now been near a fortnight without even hearing from you. What is the meaning of this mission to meet you? May I hope that it indicates your journey being bounded at Warsaw, and the probability of a speedy return? If the weather has been like ours, you must have had a most dreary journey. It has been real winter ever since you left us, with deluges of rain.

I have not seen M[atuscewitz]. I have called on him, and he called here. Lady Jersey the other day

desired that I would hear what he has to say about Greece. I could only answer that I should be willing to do so. She, of course, must think that I should hear from him an account more favourable to the conduct of our Government.

God bless you! How impatient I am for a letter, and how much more impatient for your return!

G.

To Earl Grey.

Berlin,
June 14th, 1830.*

Here I am, my dear lord, after eight days' travelling, which I have borne fairly well. I thought I should have died at Calais, where I had a fainting fit, lasting more than an hour. I was, indeed, very unwell when I left London. The change of air, however, has done me good. We found awaiting us here the Emperor's orders to go and join him immediately at Warsaw. We set off to-morrow. I shall write to you from there. How pleasant it would be could I tell you that from Warsaw I return to London! Between ourselves be it said, such is my great desire; but it is a wish somewhat wanting in courtliness, therefore do not speak of it. I am awaiting your letters with much impatience. I entreat of you write to me punctually every Friday. I am constantly thinking of you and of all that may have taken place since my departure.

Adieu; I am deadly tired; do not forget me.

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* The letters are here arranged, not according to their dates, but in the order in which the Princess's letters were received and answered by Lord Grey.

June 25th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I can only to-day write a very short letter. I have received yours of the 14th from Berlin. . . . Here we continue almost precisely in the same state as when I last wrote—the only difference that the King, who holds out most miraculously, gets worse, and the Administration gives daily greater proofs of its weakness in the House of Commons, and of its incapacity to conduct the business of the country. You will see that the King's disorder has taken, in some respects, a new character. Though the original disease of the heart is not removed, its symptoms have been much abated; there is now little or no water. His legs are reduced and healed, but he is reduced, at the same time, to a frightful state of emaciation and weakness, with a distressing cough and a discharge, by expectoration, from the lungs, which indicates a rapid destruction of that organ. He has another most painful and distressing complaint (and it is this which requires the constant attendance of a surgeon), which I cannot describe to you, but which is in itself mortal. Under all this accumulated misery it is wonderful that he should still be in existence, and it seems impossible that it should not end very soon. I have been too often deceived in my prognostics to hazard any very positive opinion as to time; but it seems almost impossible that I should write to you again during the present reign.* The Duke of Clarence, as well as the King's sisters and the Duke of Cumberland, have been several times at Windsor; and the former met

* George IV. died at three o'clock on the morning of the following day, June 26.

the Duke of Wellington there twice, and had two long conferences with him, which the adherents of the Ministers assert to have been most satisfactory.

Nothing has happened with respect to myself, except some further demonstrations of a disposition to act with me from the different parties who are not satisfied with the present Government; to which I have made a civil return, without entering into any engagement or any concerted system of operations. From the Ministers no similar indications have been made. On the contrary, the Duke of Wellington has, as I think, very gratuitously taken up the opposition to a Bill which I had undertaken to support,* and on which we are to have a battle to-day. There would be, I think, a chance of a very great division against the Government, if some of the foolish Tories had not resolved to stay away on account of their old prejudices against the Catholics. The Duke of Richmond will support me, and so will all Canning's party; but I have no one to assist me in taking measures to procure a good attendance, and this will also be a great disadvantage. Here I feel the want of Rosslyn, who understood perfectly, and was most active and useful in the arrangement of these matters.

I have seen M[atuscewitz] twice. Once at a dinner given by Lord Londonderry to Prince Frederick of Prussia, and since one morning at Lady Jersey's. Neither his *ton*, nor his manners, nor his appearance pleases me. You tell me he is clever, and I am bound to believe so good a judge, more especially as I have had so little opportunity of forming an

* The Duke of Wellington's amendment on the Galway Franchise Bill (which Lord Grey had introduced) was carried (against Lord Grey) by sixty-two to forty-seven, June 25, 1830.

opinion for myself. But I must confess the little I have seen of him does not impress me with that notion. He is, I believe, very assiduous in his court to the Ministers and to my neighbour in this square ; * and the world gives him credit for a strong desire to remain here permanently as Minister—a desire very natural for him to entertain, but which those who have had the means of appreciating Prince Lieven's services to the Russian Government will not think likely to be realized. I wish, however, that you had not gone away at this moment.

The landing of the French seems to insure the success of their expedition against Algiers.† Laval does not seem so much elated as I should have expected, or, perhaps, he thinks it better to preserve a moderate tone whilst even a possibility of failure remains. He came here the other night, so entirely overcome by fatigue, or by the fumes of a good dinner, that he could not keep his eyes open or finish a sentence without the most dreadful yawns, and even at times dropping asleep. Between these interruptions, and his constant '*Eh bien ! eh bien !*' I was more than ever puzzled to collect any meaning from what he said. After all, here is a long, though not a very interesting, letter ; and I must now take leave of you till next week, when I hope I shall have from you a long letter full of news, and more particularly of all that relates to yourself. I was a little jealous at hearing that Bülow had had a letter from you at Aix-la-Chapelle, when you did not send me a word.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

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* Lady Jersey.

† June 14, the French expedition, under Bourmont, effected a landing on the Algerine coast.

To Earl Grey.

Warsaw,
Sunday, June 20th, 1830.

How delightful, my dear lord, to have news of you! Count Nesselrode sent me over the first thing this morning your letter of the 11th. So many thanks. Every word that you say interests me immensely. Pray continue to write, for nothing in the world gives me more pleasure than your letters. We arrived here on the twelfth day from our leaving England. A very rapid journey indeed, and which, with the good arrangements for sleeping on the road, did not fatigue me much. The Emperor, attended by my brother, only came back yesterday to Warsaw, but they set off again immediately to go and meet the Empress, who has been paying a visit to the King, her father,* in Silesia. She arrives in Warsaw to-night, so that I have not as yet seen any member of the Imperial family. My husband saw the Emperor yesterday for a moment, and was greatly flattered by the amiable reception he met with; it would have been impossible for any Sovereign to treat a subject with more consideration and kindness.

I passed the whole day yesterday resting, and talking with Count Nesselrode. Your name was often mentioned, and during the short time that my husband was with the Emperor, you again were the subject of conversation. I only wish your master did you as much justice as does mine. For, indeed, he appreciates you, and this, as you can imagine, is a great pleasure to me. This week is going to be very fatiguing—recep-

* Frederick William III. of Prussia.

tions at Court, and balls, which are most intolerable. Metternich has a representative here, young Philip of Homburg, the same your Government wished to make Sovereign of Greece. He has come to congratulate the Emperor, and is the only foreign diplomatist in Warsaw. We passed Metternich's château on our road here; he would have heard of it only on the following day.

June 21st.

The Empress has just sent for me, and at the same moment Count Nesselrode lets me know that in a few hours he is going to despatch a courier to London. I am, therefore, very much hurried in finishing this, but am anxious to tell you what I know will interest you much. Count Nesselrode, on account of his health, is obliged to go and take the waters at Carlsbad for some months; my husband, *ad interim*, will replace him at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consequently he will only be able to return to England in October. For my part, however, I am in hopes of getting back before then, but my next letter will give you more positive news. Meanwhile, continue to write to me, and I will do the same to you, for I think of you often.

Knowing how suspicious you are, I had better add that what I tell you about my husband is strictly and literally true; that the absence of Count Nesselrode is solely on account of his health; that it was he who asked my husband to do him this service of friendship in acting as *locum tenens*, and that the Emperor has agreed to this, in proof of the confidence with which he honours M. de Lieven; that Nesselrode will return to Petersburg at the end of September, and my husband

to London in October. I shall leave, very surely, before this latter date, but when I do not know.

Adieu, my dear lord. I have this minute come back from the Empress, who is as charming as she is beautiful and good. She was most gracious to me. I shall see the Emperor this evening. I have only time to add good-bye, and reiterate the assurances of my sincere and true friendship.

Berkeley Square,
July 2nd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letters are short, and long between. I hope, when all the bustle of your first arrival has ceased, I shall find you a better correspondent. Your letter of June 20 reached me a few days ago. It gave me the greatest pleasure, which I must always feel upon every new instance of your recollection and kindness. But I wish it had been a little more communicative, both of what relates to yourself and what is going on in the arena of foreign politics. What you say of your reception and Prince Lieven's by the Emperor gave me unqualified pleasure. It was, however, no more than I expected. The Emperor Nicholas is too just and too discriminating a Prince not to feel all the value of the service which has been rendered to him by his Ambassador in London.

My prediction that I should not have to write to you again in the same reign was verified that very night. The poor King sank at last under his accumulated miseries, and died about three in the morning. The immediate cause of his dissolution was the rupture of a bloodvessel in his stomach. All the

details preceding and accompanying this event are very fully and, in general, not inaccurately stated in the newspapers. These, of course, you will see, and I will not waste either your time or my own in describing what you will learn equally well from that source, and also hear from others. The medical people report very favourably of the kindness and consideration which he showed for them, but express the most unqualified disgust, both at the want of feeling and the interested conduct of those whose situation ought at least to have produced a semblance of grief, though they might not feel it. The King also complained of their being so constantly in his room when he wanted to be quiet—not less than five hours the very day before his death—and desired Sir H. Halford to prevent its happening again. This I have from Lord Wellesley, to whom Sir H. Halford has stated it in the strongest terms.

I attended the Council at which the new King was declared. Nothing could be better than his whole manner and demeanour—much better, as being much more unaffected and natural, than that of the late King. In reading his declaration, which he did very distinctly and well, he was at times a good deal affected, but in a way which entirely destroyed the suspicion that he was acting a part which he did not feel, and which gave a great grace and effect to what he was doing. His manner to the members of the Privy Council upon their kissing his hand, after having taken the oaths, was civil and equal. To Lord Spencer, Lord Holland, and one or two others with whom he had had some previous connection, he spoke rather more, but in general, as I have said, there was

little distinction. With his Ministers, however, there was an appearance of ease and cordiality which prepared me for what I heard immediately afterwards, that he had not only continued them in office, but declared that they had his entire confidence and support. Everything that I had heard, indeed, for the last week or two led to this expectation—his frequent communications with the Duke of Wellington, at Windsor, and his entire reserve and silence with respect to everybody else. In this instance the Duke of Wellington's good fortune seems to have attended him, as in so many others. Had the demise of the Crown taken place six weeks or two months ago, it is reasonable to believe, from all that we heard at the time, that it might have found the King in a very different disposition. The long suspense, the necessity which during that period brought him and the Duke of Wellington so much together, the activity of intermediate agents, and possibly some recommendation from the late King, all contributed to produce this result; and there is the Great Captain established, according to all outward appearance, with the same personal influence and power as during the reign which has just closed. I say, according to outward appearance, because there are persons living in the very bosom of the King's family who state that at the bottom of his heart there is no real affection for his Minister. But so it was for a time, at least, with the late King, and yet we have seen how things went on. There has been no disposition shown on the part of the Minister to gain any accession of strength from any quarter. I have little doubt that his view of his own situation was this: that the declaration of the new

King's support and confidence must give him strength, that the power of choosing the new Parliament would increase it, and thus apparently established, he might, before the next Session, make his proposals as master, to any persons whom he might find it convenient to introduce into the Administration, as adjuncts, but not as colleagues.

In the meantime he has received one or two hints in Parliament, which may show him that this game may not be so easy or so sure as he may have expected. The debate and the division on the Galway Bill, a trumpery matter in which it was hardly decent for a Minister to exert his power, made a considerable impression, and even his supporters expressed the weariness which it gave them; and on the amendment which I moved to the Address* I thought it right no longer to withhold an open and strong declaration of my opinion, 'that this Administration was not capable of conducting the Government with advantage to the country.' The miserable figure that the Ministers made in the debate is not to be described. In the House of Lords, at least, there are no battles of Waterloo to be gained, and there the conqueror in so many battles appears, in truth, a very little man. I was supported by all the leading members of all parties, and though the majority against us was large,† our numbers (considering the nature of the question, the first in a new reign, and when the Minister himself, defeated in argument, was reduced to the necessity of appealing to the House on the ground of the motion being directed to the overthrow

* In reply to the King's message, June 30.

† The amendment was lost by forty-four votes, the numbers being 100 to 56.

of his Administration) were perhaps as large as could reasonably have been expected. In the House of Commons the numbers were proportionally much greater,* and I believe there really might have been a majority against the Ministers, if it had not been for the strange conduct of Brougham, whom I really do believe to be mad. But upon this I have not time for all the details it would require. How I regret not being able to talk them over with you *vivâ voce!* It is really impossible in a letter—either as to persons or motives of conduct, or their probable consequences—to state even impartially what is necessary to give an adequate view of the present state of affairs.

Here, then, I am, declared against the Ministers, and though without any formal union, supported by the favourable disposition of all the parties not connected with the Government. To what this may lead cannot be seen till another Session. The Duke has, at all events, gained that time, and time in politics, as well as in military affairs, is, as he well knows, almost everything. But this is certain, that if the new elections do not turn out very favourably to him—of which I do not think there is much probability—and if he cannot get some more efficient assistance in the House of Commons, which is now become more difficult than ever, it is not possible that the present Administration should continue. I think I see already some symptoms that this is the conviction, if not of the Duke, of some of his most zealous and intimate supporters; and some things have come to me in the course of the last twenty-four hours, which induce me

* Lord Althorp's amendment to the Address was lost by forty-six; the numbers were 185 to 139.

to believe that some attempt may be made to conciliate me during the recess. This, however, is now more difficult, and to tell you the truth, in what I have done, I had it in view to put myself in a situation in which it would be impossible to make me anything less than a fair offer, and to place myself on good ground for rejecting anything of a contrary description.

Here is a letter as long as one of Nesselrode's, and yet I have not said a tenth part of what I should have to say if I could see you. You see the confidence with which I write; if you do not return it, I shall be more reserved in future.

I hardly know whether to congratulate you on the very honourable distinction Prince Lieven has received. I should do so most cordially, if I did not fear that it may prevent your return.

I have not another moment.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Warsaw,
June 27th, 1830.

I have a few minutes to spare, and think I cannot better employ them than by writing to you, and thus giving you a good example of my remembrance and friendship.

My life here is so full that I could imagine myself to have been at Warsaw for fourteen days, whereas I have only been here four. All Russia is assembled here; old friends to see again—long conversations—my brother and Nesselrode permanently established in my drawing-room—and then the fatigues of a

Court besides; such are my occupations for sixteen hours out of the twenty-four. But, indeed, I am very happy, and quite satisfied with all that I hear and see, and do not mind the fatigue I am going through. My Emperor is all kindness to me, and my pleasure at the audience was so great that I almost forgot the respect due to him, in the expression of my delight at seeing him once more. We spoke a good deal about you also. You would be surprised at his admirable good sense and judgment on all points; his calm moderation and even diffidence, when one remembers the station he occupies. In a letter I can say but little of all that I think, and that very lamely. I therefore reserve much for our conversations.*

. . . . . .

We are waiting with the greatest impatience for news from London. How is the King getting on? is he still alive?

The Deputies of the Polish Diet gave a great ball to the Empress yesterday. It was very fine; but you can suppose how little it was to my taste to remain standing for five hours. To-morrow the Emperor gives a grand ball; this will be less fatiguing than the other, for it will be less crowded. The Grand-Duke Constantine is just what I left him twelve years ago, very witty and original. He has already made me laugh much.

The business of the Diet is drawing to an end, and the Session will close on the 28th. The Poles appear much attached to the Emperor, full of zeal and good will; his cordial and simple manners produce on them the best possible effect. With regard to news,

* Four lines erased by the Princess at a subsequent period.

we are here as at the bottom of a well—no courier from either Paris or London, and I am dying of curiosity. I will write in a few days as to my future movements.

Adieu, my dear lord; do not forget me. I am writing to no one to-day except yourself. If you meet Lady Cowper, pray give her news of me.

To Earl Grey.

Warsaw,
June 28th, 1830.

I begin, my dear lord, by what I know will interest you most.

I return straight from here to London. I leave Warsaw on July 4 at the latest, and shall reach London about the 20th. You can imagine the pleasure this gives me. I was somewhat troubled and perplexed by the kind wish expressed by the Emperor to have me come to Petersburg; however, all is now well settled, and I am not going there, but coming back to you. Meanwhile, I am harassed to death with the gaieties here. I got home at three o'clock this morning from a ball at the Palace, and by ten o'clock I was obliged to be back there in full dress to accompany the Empress to the closing of the Polish Diet. And now a messenger is just leaving for London, and I must hurry to get off these few lines to you. The Emperor leaves Warsaw the 2nd. My husband follows him the next day, when Count Nesselrode starts for Carlsbad.

I have to thank you, my dear lord, for your letter of the 17th. It gives me such pleasure, even by this

means, to continue our conversations. How happy I shall be to take them up again!

I have just come back from the Chambers. It was all very imposing; no one could have looked more thoroughly imperial than did my master. Still, it was a curious sight—he on the throne, and the Grand-Duke Constantine at the other end of the hall among the deputies.* The cordial relations existing between the two brothers are really admirable, and very touching.

Adieu, my dear lord; I am deadly tired. Write to me once again, and I shall get your letter on the road. I will leave directions to have it forwarded. What a pleasure it is to be able to say *au revoir!*

To Earl Grey.

Berlin,
July 5th, 1830.

I shall probably be in London on the 15th, my dear lord. On getting here I heard of the death of King George, and found your letter of June 25. A thousand thanks for it, which I shall myself be able to reiterate to you in a few days' time. How happy I shall then be! I left Warsaw two days ago, almost at the same time as the Emperor. He came again, and had a talk with me at my house for two hours before his departure. His kindness to me and these marks of confidence are extraordinary. My husband left Warsaw shortly after I did. I shall get on as fast as possible, for I wish to forget my many leave-takings at Warsaw, and shall dwell in anticipation on the pleasures

* As Governor of the Kingdom of Poland.

awaiting me in London, among which, as you well know, that of seeing you again is one of the first. It is almost needless writing adieu, my dear lord, for we shall meet so soon. Excuse this scrawl.

Friday, July 16th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter from Berlin, and sent yesterday evening to inquire about you. I need not say what pleasure I received from the answer that you had arrived at Richmond. I called this morning at Ashburnham House, in the hopes of hearing that you were coming to town, but the porter gave me no such expectation. When may I hope to see you? and how does it happen that you have given me no sign of life? I say nothing on all that has happened since we parted. That will be better reserved for our conversations, but my stay in London is drawing near its end. I shall be obliged to go, I fear, the end of next week.

God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

P.S.—I wrote a very long letter on the 2nd, which I hope will not fall into other hands.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,

Saturday [July 17th, 1830].

"Yes, my dear lord, here I am, but still suffering so much from fatigue that yesterday I could not possibly hold a pen. I take it up to-day for the first time, and

write to you, to say that I shall be in town on Monday morning. I will send you word as to the hour when I could see you. I hope it may be early. Your letter of the 2nd reached me safely, and much do I thank you for it. How many things shall we not have to say to one another, and how delighted I shall be to see you again! But pray do not set off so soon for Howick; come to Richmond till Parliament meets again. This will keep you in good health, and restore mine too. No good-bye; we shall meet on Monday.

[Princess Lieven, presumably during her journey, had met with an accident, and was much hurt, her carriage having been upset.]

Richmond,
Tuesday, July 20th, 1830.

It has just been decided, my dear lord, that I must be bled again to-day. I let you know, in case you might be intending to come and see me. I will let you know to-morrow how I am, and if I shall be able to come to town on Thursday.

Good-bye, and many kind regards.

Berkeley Square,
July 21st, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just received your note. I cannot express to you half my vexation at not seeing you. . . .

On Friday the King closes the Session in person, and I have promised to take my daughter to the House of Lords; but if the prorogation should be put off, or if I can get anybody else to take care of her, I

certainly will call on you; if not, on Saturday. It is really too hard, with only four or five days remaining, that I should have the prospect of being able to devote so small a portion of them to you. I have not a word of news to tell you. Of the new King there are plenty of stories in circulation; but with all this incessant agitation, there really was in his manner at the levée this morning a degree of composure and propriety which one could not have expected. I should say of it exactly what I said of his demeanour at the first Council, that nothing could be more becoming his situation. He was extremely civil to me. As to everything else, I have nothing more to tell you. Holland, by Lord Melbourne's desire, communicated to me the account of the overture that had been made to him, and I took an opportunity this morning of telling Lord Melbourne how much I was gratified by this mark of his confidence and good opinion.

God bless you, dearest Princess; why should you not come to Howick to re-establish your health? You have no idea what a good nurse I am.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Thursday evening, July 22nd, 1830.

A thousand thanks, my dear lord, for your note of yesterday. I quite understand all your difficulties. It vexes me, the idea of our being so near, and yet so much separated from each other. Come when you like, or when you can. You are sure to find me. However, if it were impossible for you to come

at all, I would go to town on purpose to see you, though I am forbidden to do so. All that I am able to do just at present is to take a drive towards evening for half an hour.

The Duchess of Cumberland came to see me to-day; she dined with the King yesterday. Esterhazy dined there also—the only diplomatist present. The King drank to the health of the Emperor of Austria with very flattering assurances of his friendship. The Duke of Wellington has not yet been invited to dine with the King.

The King of Würtemberg arrives to-night; they are going to give him a grand reception at Court. He will stay four days. The King and Queen are to establish themselves at Windsor on August 5.

I have now given you all my news, and it is, after all, very commonplace.

Adieu, my dear lord. If you should not come to-morrow, pray write to me, for I must either see you or hear from you. I had already heard from those present at the levée how very graciously the King received you. What is to follow?

Berkeley Square,
July 23rd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your very kind note, with all the pleasure which everything from you must always give me.

I am at this moment returned from the House of Lords, after all the fatigue of sitting between two or three hours in my robes, in the heat of a tropical climate. The King did his part very well, but looked,

I thought, frightfully full and bloated. His face and hands were literally purple, and made me think that apoplexy was not one of the least of the dangers to which he is exposed.

Leopold's dinner is put off on account of the arrival of the King of Würtemberg. But the Duke of Sussex has a party on Wednesday, to which he has invited me, and I shall stay till Monday. I hope this may give me one more chance of seeing you after to-morrow. . . .

God bless you, dearest, dearest Princess.

Ever your most devoted

G.

P.S.—Not a word of news.

[On July 25 Charles X. signed at St. Cloud the five celebrated *Ordonnances*, which altered and abrogated some of the most essential provisions of the Constitutional Charter of 1814, granted by Louis XVIII. The first of these *Ordonnances* suspended the liberty of the press; the second decreed the dissolution of the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies; the third introduced organic changes into the system of election; the fourth convoked the two Chambers for September 28 ensuing; and the fifth added some ultra-Royalists to the Council of State.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
July 29th, 1830.

What ill-luck, my dear lord, not even to have caught sight of you yesterday!

I had intended coming to town this morning quite early, in the hopes of seeing you for a moment before you left for the north (and I ought to have come in any case, having had a time appointed for me for waiting on the Princesses); but my doctor has just come in, and finds me very feverish and exhausted after the

terrible evening of yesterday,* and positively forbids my moving from home to-day.

So I must wish you good-bye by letter, and deeply am I grieved at being obliged to do so in this manner. We have seen so little of each other. I entreat you to write to me, and I will do so to you.

What amazing news from France! What is to follow? I can assure you that Russia will never lend her countenance to conduct so extravagant. I hope other countries may adopt the same course. But what inconceivable madness it all is!

Many times adieu, until the month of October. It is a long way off, but do not forget me.

Berkeley Square,
July 29th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just got your note, and have only a moment to answer it, before I set out. I am quite in despair at going away without seeing you once more, and I am mortified at thinking that if you had had the same wish, we might have had at least one more comfortable talk. And I have so much to say to you. We stay at Hatfield till Saturday, perhaps till Monday. Afterwards two days at Milton. The correspondence must now be chiefly maintained on your side, for I can have nothing to write but *la pluie et le beau temps*.

This is indeed a most important and decisive measure that has been taken by the French Government. I am not at all sure it will not succeed—at least, for a time. What you say is the determination of Russia, ought to be that of all the Governments of

* A dinner at the palace.

Europe. But I fear the Duke of Wellington as a Minister in such a crisis. His wishes cannot be doubtful, and it is hardly possible to believe that Polignac would have ventured so entirely to throw away the scabbard without some encouragement, or what he believed to be such, from him and Metternich. It is at all events a new revolution. If it succeeds, in favour of despotism; if it fails, at least it must produce a change of the Monarch, and probably the destruction of the monarchy.

But I have not time for such matters, so adieu.

Direct to me to-morrow to Lord Salisbury's at Hatfield; if I stay longer I will let you know, and also how to direct to me afterwards. I have not another moment.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Your devoted,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday [*July 30th*, 1830].

Your letter has this moment been brought to me, my dear lord, and I answer it at once. The accounts in the papers of this morning are alarming, and God only knows what may be happening now in France, and the King, a religious man, imperils the lives of his subjects merely to please his favourite. Truly, Charles X. must be mad. However, I have a consolation in believing that your Ministers take a right view of all this; and in justice to the Duke of Wellington I am bound to say that his tone to me was most satisfactory when speaking on

the subject. I certainly do not think that Polignac has been countenanced by him, but I would not answer for M. de Metternich. Or, rather, I affirm that all that has taken place is much to his taste, even if it has not actually emanated from him. I will send you any news that I may learn from reliable sources. What a pity to have to write instead of speaking! You are not quite just with regard to me. I would have come to town yesterday if I possibly could; but I am still suffering much, and there is now a question of a consultation. Meanwhile absolute quiet is essential. Just imagine, at the very time when I was so near being killed my husband was lying at the point of death in a wretched village in Poland. He had the most violent inflammation of the bowels, and was in great danger for three days. He is now convalescent, and has reached Petersburg. I think this is enough ill-luck for one family.

Adieu, my dear lord; I am interrupted by a visit.

A thousand kind wishes.

D. LIEVEN.

[On July 27 Marshal Marmont was appointed commander of the military force in Paris. Riots ensued, and barricades were raised. On the 28th, Paris was declared in a state of siege. During the fighting, the troops were worsted by the mob, and some regiments fraternized with the people. On the 29th, the Palace of the Tuileries was sacked by the populace. The King, at St. Cloud, now too late, consented to recall the *Ordonnances*.]

Hatfield,
August 1st, 1830.

I was in hopes, dearest Princess, that I should have had a line from you last night; but I conclude that your being at Richmond prevented your being

able to send the news from Paris by yesterday's post. I heard the whole account from Rosslyn, from whom I did not expect it, and from Holland. It has raised my spirits exceedingly. I lament every act of violence attended with the loss of life. But as the unjustifiable and atrocious attempt of Charles X. and his ministers, to extinguish at a blow the liberty of France, could only be resisted by force, I must rejoice that the resistance has, so far, been successful. That it will be eventually so I think can now hardly be doubted. The defection of a part of the army, and the state of public feeling, as proved by the late elections, seem to render this nearly certain. We leave this place to-morrow . . . .

The elections seem to be going very much against the Ministers. I begin to think that they will gain very little if at all in numbers, and that they are evidently losing in consideration.

God bless you, dearest Princess,

Ever most entirely yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Monday, August 2nd, 1830.

I have been suffering very much, my dear lord, and am so still; I have sent to London for a surgeon, and shall see what he can do for me. But it was not my health that prevented my writing to you on Saturday. By a mistake your letter was only forwarded to me very late, and I did not know whether you were still at Hatfield. To-day I address to you at Milton, not having the slightest idea where

Milton is. What dreadful news from France! The character of the situation is entirely changed by all we now hear. A legal resistance to the Decrees of the King was what might have been expected; but acts of violence such as have taken place make the case very different. If a Republican form of Government is to be the end of all this, one cannot but fear lest it should become once again a Republic with aggressive tendencies. What power in Europe may then not be forced anew to take up arms? I have but one opinion on this subject: everything that leads to an apprehension of encroachment on neighbouring States calls for measures of precaution; and if any such encroachment take place—then war. In the case, however, of no such aggression happening, and, above all, if the Government, whatever it may be, which is established in France, begins by satisfying Europe through a positive declaration on this point, then no one will have the right to interfere with her. But how can one hope for wisdom in the midst of the convulsions now agitating France? And all this for a man like Polignac! I send you no details, for I imagine that to-day's papers, which I have not yet read, contain all that was in the despatches received by Aberdeen on Saturday night. The Ambassadors are prisoners in their own houses. Messengers are detained, but the one who brought these despatches managed to escape and get past the barricades. Pozzo gives no sign of life whatsoever. I am quite anxious about him. He might really die of fright. He is not the man for a great crisis. Come what may, it appears certain to me that Charles X. has now ceased to reign. Nobody foresaw what has just taken place. On Tuesday, the 27th,

Pozzo wrote me: 'There is nothing to be feared with reference to the tranquillity of Paris; they will have recourse to no violent measures.' It is incomprehensible.

At this very moment I have got news. The Duke of Orleans* is Lieutenant of the Kingdom, and probably King. Private letters speak with enthusiasm of the conduct of the populace of Paris. The Court alone is made to bear the whole onus of the crime and its consequences. I cannot yet set my ideas in order about these mighty events. Certainly these have not been provoked by any interference on the part of your Government. At least, so I believe. But such events may have a fatal influence upon its fortunes. God only knows what may be ahead. How annoying to be ill at such a time, and you absent! It is really most unfortunate.

Now I must say good-bye, my dear lord, for I am expecting visitors, and otherwise might be prevented getting off this letter to-day. I shall wait impatiently to know your opinion on all that is taking place, and what you think ought to be done. Write soon to me. I promise to tell you anything I may hear, not to be found in the papers. To-day I can add nothing to what is read in print.

A thousand kind regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Milton,
August 3rd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

This morning's post brought me your letter; I need not say how acceptable it was to me I

* Louis Philippe.

am sorry to see in what you say of the late events in France a tendency to a very different view of them to that which I take. What could be done by legal resistance to a power which had overturned all law? Force was the only resource, and, thank God, it has triumphed. The people of Paris seem to me to have shown no less moderation than courage, and are entitled to the thanks and admiration of everyone who feels that they have not only preserved the liberty of France, but have prevented the destruction of that of every country in Europe. The death of George IV. is now a most fortunate event. His disposition in the present crisis would have been the worst possible; and the present Ministers would have been too likely to acquiesce in the measures which he would have desired. It will now be their own fault entirely if they do not find the means of obtaining, out of this revolution, the most satisfactory securities for the peace and independence of the world. But to do this there must be no hesitation, no grudging, no appearance of indecision and ill-will in their measures.

The Government of the Duke of Orleans should be at once cordially and frankly acknowledged; *i.e.*, as soon as it appears to be sanctioned and supported by the general will of France. I should certainly have thought it right to acknowledge any other form of Government—even a Republic—if established by the same authority. Measures of precaution which you think in such a case might become necessary—if by measures of precaution is meant renewal of a league amongst the other Powers—accompanied by a display of force, could not have failed to excite jealousy, distrust, and ultimately war. Do not suppose from this

that I would have advised indifference, much less submission to any attempt to invade the rights of others, or to extend the dominions of France. But to mark a suspicion of such an intention would have been to suggest and excite it; apparent goodwill would have afforded the best means of inspiring a similar disposition. A policy dictated by such views would have impaired in no degree the real means of defence, if an occasion calling for them should arise; and they would have been the more effectual in proportion as they appeared to all the nations of Europe, and to France itself, to have been called into action by motives the most legitimate and the most just.

Such a course cannot, I think, now be disapproved by anyone who takes a right view of the late events, and of the causes which have produced them. We at least, looking at our own history, cannot deny that Charles X. has justly forfeited his throne. In appointing the Duke of Orleans, the French have not deviated more from the established line of succession than was absolutely necessary to their own security; and our acknowledgment of his power ought, as I have already said, to be a matter of course. But I am far from feeling any confidence that so simple and direct a manner of proceeding will be adopted by our Government. The distrust with which you have inspired me has increased by an observation of all their measures. I hope and I believe that they have nothing to answer for as advisers and encouragers of the last act of infatuation and violence. I am equally disposed to credit their assurances that the appointment of Polignac was not caused by any *direct recommendation* from hence. But I cannot forget the language

that was held at that time by them and their retainers; the praises of the Administration of the 8th of August,* and the violent abuse of the Liberals, which were daily poured forth by all the foolish persons who had no opinions but such as they took from them; and though not the original and active promoters of the appointment of the Polignac Administration, I cannot acquit them of not having contributed, by the means which I have described, to that measure, to which all that has now happened may be attributed.

Upon the whole, the present aspect of affairs gives me the greatest satisfaction. I never expected to live to see anything half so good. The composition of the Ministry, or the provisional Government, gives me additional confidence in this view. It seems to offer something to satisfy every description of party in France. Lafayette and the National Guards, the Duke of Orleans a Bourbon Prince, the tricolor flag with the appointment of Clausel,† etc., gives Republicans, Liberals, Constitutionalists, Bourbons, and even Bonapartists, something to boast of, and will, I trust, insure the humanity and moderation, as well as the intelligence and vigour which are necessary for the establishment of a free and salutary Government in France.

You desired my opinions, and I have given them without reserve, though very hastily, and perhaps without sufficient caution, on measures of such extreme delicacy and importance. But I consider them as sacred from every eye but your own. I leave this place early to-morrow. . . .

Ever most entirely yours,

G.

* When Prince Polignac was named Premier.

† The celebrated Bonapartist General.

[August 2, Charles X. abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson, the Duc de Bordeaux; he then set out with his guards for Normandy, with a view of embarking for England.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Tuesday, August 3rd, 1830.

This, my dear lord, is what I know over and above what we learn from the newspapers. However, I have not yet seen those of this morning.

The regiments of the line, and even the Guards, abandon the King; the Swiss alone remain faithful. The King is supposed to have fled. Madame de Polignac has been arrested in the neighbourhood of Versailles. It is said that, failing the Duke of Orleans, they would have proclaimed Napoleon II.* or the Republic. The King had abandoned his Ministers, and offered to revoke the *Ordonnances*. It is neither more nor less than cowardice to have done this so late in the day. I do not think the Duke of Wellington will be over-pleased at the good fortune of the Duke of Orleans. The latter told me in confidence last year how very little he cared for the Field-Marshal, and that he in no wise admired his policy.

I am in bed and very unwell, and am really beginning to be anxious about myself.

Adieu, my dear lord; I have neither anything further to add nor the strength to write more.

Yours ever,

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* The Duc de Reichstadt.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
August 5th, 1830.

A thousand thanks, my dear lord, for your good and long letter of the 3rd.

My poor back must have driven me into my dotage for you to have been able to find in my letter any change of opinion as to what it would be necessary now to do. Heaven preserve us from a league! This would be to court the very danger we are striving to avoid. And although there may be Cabinets idiotic enough even for this, still, there are many (and particularly the more important of the Powers) who are equitable and high-minded enough to appreciate the state of the case sufficiently, to abstain from everything that might compromise the repose of Europe, even for the distant future. But much wisdom is needed on all sides. France must give some guarantee for the tranquillity of the country, and make some profession of faith with reference to the principles of her Government; must dismiss all question of conquests, and have no meddling with the affairs of other nations. In one word, she must not seek to revolutionize foreign Governments. These points being conceded, the late events in France will have been productive of all that is good and salutary.

They say to-day that Charles X. will take refuge in England. I regret this for your Government's sake, because it will be an extra embarrassment to them, and I do not think the news will be agreeable.

I know nothing whatever of Pozzo. I think he must be dead; and all my ideas are derived from Lord

Stuart's* despatches—that is to say, from as much of them as reaches me. According to him, the Duke of Orleans is in secret communication with Charles X., whom he has promised to reserve the throne for the Bourbons. But he himself is a *Bourbon*, if I know my history of France. However, the meeting of both Chambers, on the 3rd, will have decided this question. When we last heard, the King had still 4,000 men at Versailles and the Constitutionalists 12,000 at Vaugirard; but bear in mind that I am behindhand with news, and more recent despatches may have reached London by this time.

I saw Flahault yesterday, who was leaving that evening for Paris. He thinks himself in a position to be able to offer advice to the Duke of Orleans. I told him what I judged to be prudent and in the interest of this Prince if he is to govern France. And this was very nearly what I have written to you above, for I consider it of the last necessity and importance that a good understanding should be come to, immediately, with the rest of Europe. If I am talking rubbish, on myself alone be the blame, for what reaches me at second-hand is not weighty enough to inspire me with political ideas of any high order. In truth, very few wise heads are to be found at such a crisis, and it seems to me as though everyone now had lost his wits.

I see nothing of Matuscewitz. I think he must be dead, like Pozzo.

As to myself, my dear lord, I am really ill. I cannot walk at all, and am anxious about myself. God knows how this will end!

At this moment I hear that the King and the

* English Ambassador.

Dauphin have abdicated, that Charles X. has asked leave to come to England, and that your Ministers are very much embarrassed as to what answer to give.

I have not another moment. Pray continue to write to me. I have just received news of Pozzo. He writes hopefully.

Good-bye, my dear lord; I am quite exhausted.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, August 6th, 1830.

I have at last something authentic for you, my dear lord. Charles X. published on August 1, at Rambouillet, a declaration, by which he names the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, withdraws the *Ordonnances* of July 25, and convokes the Chambers for the 3rd. The declaration adds that if any attempt were to be made on the liberty of the King or his family, he will defend himself to the death. On August 2, also from Rambouillet, the King addressed a letter to the Duke of Orleans, by which he and the Dauphin both abdicate the crown in favour of the Duc de Bordeaux; and he commands that the latter be proclaimed King, under the name of Henri V. He enjoins upon the Duke of Orleans to communicate his intentions to the *Corps Diplomatique*, and ends by asking him to consult with the Vicomte de Froissac (bearer of the letter) for the arrangements necessary to be made for him, and those of his suite who accompany him. Meanwhile, they had learnt in Paris, on the 3rd, that the King had still with him 4,000 men, and that he was not moving from Rambouillet. The populace

of Paris was preparing to march against him. Stuart and Pozzo, fearing that some horrible catastrophe would result from this, went to the Duke of Orleans, and communicated their apprehensions. The Duke of Orleans reassured them by saying that, in order to prevent this movement on the part of the populace, he had despatched General Gérard to the King, at the head of 10,000 men, begging him to leave, and exhorting him by all possible arguments to do so. He had sent him at the same time money, and made all the necessary arrangements to facilitate and secure his departure. Should the King persistently refuse, Gérard has orders to fight; the issue cannot be doubtful—the King will be taken prisoner. But the Duke of Orleans trusts that things will not be pushed to extremities. Two steam-packets are in readiness for the King at Cherbourg, to carry him wherever he wishes, saving to French and Belgian ports. All this news is trustworthy, but very secret, and I entreat of you to consider it as such.

Now I have given you all my budget of news, and can tell you nothing more. I am very unwell. Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me soon.

Lambton Castle,
Aug. 8th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letters, at Milton, Grantham and here, at each place just as I was getting into my carriage to continue my journey. It is now at the door to take me to Howick, where I hope to be by five o'clock, and not to move again till

the meeting of Parliament takes me to town. I am distressed at hearing that you still continue to suffer so much. . . .

Your news is most interesting, but I have not now time for any comments; indeed, I could offer none that would not have been anticipated by you. Everything seems to be going on as one would wish, for I cannot believe that Charles X., after having given up everything else, will persist in holding out for the Duke of Bordeaux. If he desires to come here, it will no doubt create some embarrassment. Without an absolute refusal, I think a representation might be made to him of the inconvenience which would arise from his being so near France, and the difficulties which it might create. This, I think, would have its effect, and the natural place for him would be in some part of the Austrian dominions, and Metternich his natural protector.

I will write again from Howick; but continue your letters, which are the greatest pleasure I have, and, above all, tell me that your health improves. God bless you, dearest Princess. *Tout à vous.*

G.

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION OF JULY.

Louis Philippe, King of the French—The New Administration in France—Charles X.'s Projects—William IV.'s Dislike of Louis Philippe—His Speech about Austria—Prince Polignac Arrested—Common Belief as to his Parentage—Marshal Sebastiani—News from Paris—General Baudrand's Embassy—Charles X. lands at Weymouth—The Duke of Wellington's View of Recent Events—The Result of the Elections Unfavourable to his Administration—Prospects of the Opposition—Prince Metternich's Interview with Count Nesselrode at Carlsbad—Louis Philippe and Lafayette—News of the Revolution received at Petersburg—Prince Polignac's letter to the Chamber of Peers—The Insurrection in Brussels—The Congress of Vienna and the Government of the Netherlands—The King and the Duke of Wellington—Lord Grey's View of the Netherlands Question—The Result of the Elections for the New Parliament—The Prince of Orange at Brussels—The Prospects of Continental Sovereigns—Russia Opens her Ports to the Tricolor Flag—France and the Belgian Insurrection—Insurrectionary Movements on the Prussian Frontier—The Duke of Wellington at Liverpool—M. de Talleyrand Ambassador to England—The Comte de Celles sent to Brussels—The Congress of Vienna and the Union of Holland and Belgium—Death of Mr. Huskisson—The Duke of Brunswick—Russia Recognises Louis Philippe—The Court at Brighton—Commotions in Hesse—Prince Frederick of Orange retreats from before Brussels—The Duke of Wellington and Parliamentary Reform—The Union between Belgium and Holland dissolved—The Fortresses on the French Frontier—The Alliance of 1818—The Duke's Offer to Lord Palmerston—Charles X. goes to Holyrood—The Disturbed State of Ireland, and the Sending of the English Militia.

Howick,
Aug. 9th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I write in performance of my promise, but after having told you that we arrived here yesterday all well, I really have nothing to say. This morning's

papers brought me all the details of the account you sent me, with the addition, as I had anticipated, that the King had submitted without conditions. Nothing can be more satisfactory than all the present appearances. But I have two fears. One, that after the common enemy is removed, the different parties which united in their opposition to him may differ amongst themselves, and that violent measures may ensue. The other, that, indisposed as our Ministers must necessarily be to the new Government, their conduct may excite jealousies, the result of which would be difficult to calculate. I hear that the Duke of Wellington expresses great commiseration for Charles X.! Says that he was forced to take the step which has ended in his ruin; that an attempt at a revolution had evidently been long resolved upon; that this is proved by the state of preparation in which the opponents of the Government were found; and that though the King was driven to strike the first blow, which has given an appearance of justice to the cause of his adversaries, it was a necessity which he could not avoid. If this is the language of the Minister and his friends, of which I cannot doubt, you will not wonder at my feeling great distrust at the measures which may be taken under circumstances requiring the greatest caution and prudence.

There is no post to-morrow, and I cannot hear from you till Wednesday. In the meantime, I am in continual anxiety as to the state of your health, of which I hope your next accounts will be better. Pray mention Prince Lieven also when you write, who, I hope, experiences no bad consequences from his very severe attack. Has anything been heard of Laval?

Suppose Flahault should come back as Ambassador? What would Lady Jersey say to the Ambassadress?

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

[The Session of the French Chambers commenced on August 3, and the crown was offered to Louis Philippe, with the title of King of the French. On August 9, at a royal sitting, the new Monarch declared his acceptance of the crown, and swore faithfully to observe the Charter as emended by the Chambers.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 10*th*, 1830.

I have been too ill, my dear lord, the last few days to write to you; always lying down, leeched every day, and no better. It is most vexatious. But I must send you news, and not complaints. I have heard nothing decisive to-day. I trust there may be no obstacle to the proclamation of the Duke of Orleans as King of the French. It is the only way to finish the affair quickly and well. He has named Marshal Jourdan Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, in announcing the fact to the Ambassadors, begged them to resume diplomatic relations. I believe that they will await instructions from their respective Courts, since, being accredited to Charles X., they will require fresh credentials. They all, however, remain in Paris.

Your Ministers are now dispersing in all directions. The Duke of Wellington goes to-day to Walmer. Peel is gone to the country, and the others have followed suit. Possibly it is this dispersion of the Cabinet which delays the recognition of the French

Government. Prudence, certainly, would suggest the advisability of allowing ten days at least to go by, in order to get some confidence that what is established to-day will not be upset to-morrow. Esterhazy is endeavouring to drive Aberdeen into a Congress. The 'Apostolic' Aberdeen is much disposed thereto, but I believe the Duke of Wellington to be much too prudent to fall into so dangerous a trap. He is most anxious that Charles X. should not come to England. He says as much openly, and I believe him to be sincere in this, because such an event could not fail of being very embarrassing to the Government. The King is settled at Windsor. He has invited the Cumberlands to spend some days with him there, as also Prince Leopold. To-day they expect the Duke of Cambridge and the Princess Elizabeth.*

Such, my dear lord, is my budget of news. Poor though it be, I am in a hurry to despatch it to you, for I am ill, and writing hurts me. I will send you another letter to-morrow. Meanwhile, adieu, and a thousand kind wishes.

I am sorry to hear that your King speaks of the Duke of Orleans in no very kind manner. This is a pity.

Howick,
Aug. 13*th*, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I yesterday received your letter of the 10th. It again makes me very unhappy by the account you give of yourself. . . .

The proceedings of the French give me unqualified satisfaction, as I think they must to everybody who is

* Brother and sister of William IV.

not bigoted to legitimacy and absolute power. The Republican party, which appears to me to be much the strongest, are entitled to the greatest praise for their moderation and prudence, in giving their support to a constitutional King. Philippe I. being now proclaimed, I trust there will be no delay in acknowledging him by foreign Powers. I see nothing to be gained by putting it off, and the good disposition which now prevails in France, whilst it removes all difficulty on this point, holds out the greatest inducement to a frank and cordial proceeding, which may conciliate and confirm it. I cannot conceive how our Ministers can be separating at such a moment, except they leave the decision to be taken at once by the Great Captain. I distrust his inclination, but I think he will find himself compelled to do what is right, whether he likes it or not. I am very sorry to hear what you say of the King's language respecting the Duke of Orleans. It is very unfortunate, and still more improper. Kings ought not to allow themselves to talk publicly on such subjects. But I am afraid discretion is not the most prominent amongst the good qualities of William IV. This language alarms me the more, as I am afraid it may proceed from the discussion of these matters with his Ministers.

I have no political correspondent at present, except Holland occasionally, so that I know nothing of what is going on at home. I conclude that little is to be known. Your letters are my greatest pleasure, and till I can hear better accounts of your health, I shall be doubly anxious to receive them.

Most entirely yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 14th, 1830.

My silence, my dear lord, arises from my wretched health. I have been suffering so much lately that I have not been able to write even to my husband. I feel rather better to-day, and write to you before I get ill again. First, many thanks for your letter from Howick of the 9th. Events in France have really progressed so rapidly that I no longer know where I had got to in my last letter. To-day, information which reaches me from private sources, and which may be depended upon, assures me that for the moment order and tranquillity are established in Paris. Nevertheless, there are very many hot-headed Republicans who, if not otherwise able to do harm, will do their best to thwart the prudent intentions of the new King. He has in view the preservation of the best understanding with foreign Powers, and desires to give them no cause for suspicion or dissatisfaction. We hear of no project whatever for extending the frontiers, nor for revolutionizing neighbouring States. After all, these are the two capital points. If these be strictly observed by France, no one will meddle with her. Headstrong individuals in France may, however, force her Government into committing blunders which would bring on war, and then a general war would become inevitable. God preserve us from any such misfortune.

According to the news I heard last night, Charles X. has decided to go to Saxony. (The Dauphin, father of Louis XVI., and of the two last Kings of France, married a Saxon Princess, so that the house of Saxony

is, of all the royal houses in Europe, the one most nearly related to the Bourbons.) *It is said* that Stuart has verbally given amicable assurances on the part of England to the Duke of Orleans. M. Molé is to be made Minister of Foreign Affairs—an excellent choice. M. de Barante will be sent over here to notify the change of dynasty. He is a peer of France, has written the 'History of the Dukes of Burgundy,' and is a very clever man. His wife is extremely handsome; the Duke of Wellington paid her great attention in 1818. Such is the news I can give you this morning. I believe your Ministers are determined not to hurry themselves about acknowledging the new King. And this for two reasons: to see whether the change will be permanent, and to wait and first see what the other Powers will do. But I beg you to keep this entirely to yourself.

Count Haugwitz, the special Ambassador from Austria,* dined three days ago with the King at Windsor. The King drank to the health of the Emperor of Austria. He spoke at some length, and in the most flattering terms of the Emperor Francis, and insisted on the necessity, especially under present circumstances, for maintaining the closest relations between the two countries. The Queen's birthday yesterday was celebrated quite in private at Bushy. That of the King will be kept at Windsor. They talk of a dinner, with covers for a hundred guests, in St. George's Hall. Lady Jersey will have a week at Windsor Castle. Imagine her delight! Lady Keith paid me a visit yesterday. The news she receives from her husband† is good; the new King appears to

* At William IV.'s coronation. † The Comte de Flahault.

suit everyone's taste. My husband has quite recovered; many thanks for your kind inquiries about him. He is well pleased with all that the Emperor is doing. Up to the present time they will have been in a state of the most blissful ignorance. It was the 10th when they received the first news from France, and only on the 22nd will they learn the sequel; consequently we cannot expect to hear from Petersburg on the subject before the 10th or 12th of September. It is a long time to wait, but I am not uneasy. I have no doubts as to the judgment of the Emperor, and it is sure to be well weighed. The other Cabinets are in great agitation about it all, as you may imagine. Polignac has not been arrested. The following is, as I am assured, the list of the new Administration:

Molé . . .	Foreign Affairs.
Guizot . . .	Interior.
Gérard . . .	War.
Louis . . .	Finance.
Sebastiani . .	Marine.
Dupont de l'Eure .	Justice.
Duc de Broglie * .	*Ponts et Chaussées.*

Adieu, my dear lord, for I am again feeling ill. Many kind regards.

Howick,
Aug. 17th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Having told me that you would write again the day after the date of your last letter, your silence made me very unhappy. . . . I think I perceive a

* He ultimately became Minister of Public Instruction and President of the Council of State.

little too much jealousy in what you say of France. You admit that everything has, so far, been well conducted, and that the new King is anxious to remove all cause for suspicion. Why not act, then, at once, in the same spirit, to confirm this good disposition, and take away from the mischievous spirits, who may be at work, the means of exciting the national jealousy as to the intentions of foreign Powers? For this purpose nothing could be so effectual as a frank and cordial acknowledgment of the new Government. Though not disappointed, therefore, at the course taken by our Government, for it is too much in the character of their policy, I must deeply regret the hesitation and delay which appear to mark their councils. The King's speech, at the dinner given to the Austrian Minister, is still less according to my notions of what would be expedient. In the first place, I must repeat my regret at this habit of making speeches, which must sooner or later lower him in the general estimation, and probably involve him in considerable embarrassments. But the policy indicated by his statement of the necessity, considering the circumstances of the moment, of a more intimate connection with Austria, is still more to be lamented. It is not on one side only that all cause of suspicion or offence is to be avoided; and if a suspicion should go forth that our Government is disposed to adopt the views of Metternich, my fear of a war, which you apprehend from any imprudence on the part of the French Government, would indeed be greatly increased.

I picture to myself all Lady Jersey's delight at being invited to Windsor. My correspondence with her has ceased, so that I have no means of knowing

what she now thinks of the 'foolish' Liberals in France, as she used to call them. I have heard, however, that she says Charles X. was driven to the necessity of taking the measures which have deprived him of his crown, that a revolution was inevitable, and all the means to effect it long prepared. Another bad sign, as I am told the Duke holds a similar language. My only hope is in the strong and general opinion expressed by the public here. Without this I should fear, from the character and opinions of the present Ministers, a renewal of all the false measures which were really the cause of the evils of the first Revolution, and of all the miseries that have resulted from it. I did not know, till within these two days, that there was a belief in France that Polignac is the son of Charles X. Lady Grey's maid, a Frenchwoman, told her that it was the universal belief of all the lower classes. And I found this morning, in reading the last volume of the 'Memoirs of Madame du Barry,'* something like a confirmation of it. Speaking of the birth of Polignac, and the Queen's attendance on his mother in her confinement, she says: '*Quant à l'enfant né sous de si heureux auspices, on peut lui prédire une destinée brillante surtout après que l'on eut entendu Monseigneur le Comte d'Artois dire qu'il voulait servir de père au nouveau né.*' Her prediction of a brilliant destiny has not been accomplished, but this may in some degree account for the infatuated attachment of Charles X. to this rash and incapable Minister.

God bless you, dearest Princess; pray tell me that you are better, and believe me ever

Most devotedly yours,

GREY.

* See vol. i., p. 313.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 17th [1830].

I was prevented writing yesterday to you, my dear lord . . . and I begin by thanking you for your letter of the 13th. All that reaches me from Paris gives me hope that things will remain as they are at present. Order and tranquillity are established, and there is a determination to give no cause of alarm or suspicion to foreign Powers. The Ministry is well constituted, with the exception of Sebastiani, who has always held to the doctrine of extending the frontiers of France. But his colleagues are wiser. Molé, in particular, is an excellent man, and so we may trust that they will continue to act with prudence.

The Comte de Chabot is expected here; he brings the notification of the new reign. Your Ministers are to take it all into consideration on Monday the 23rd, which is the day when the Cabinet meets. The Chancellor came to see me yesterday. I found him very little up in the affairs of France, but his general views were very sound, for he admitted the necessity for recognising the new state of affairs, and thus endeavouring to strengthen the French Government, since in their hands lay the only possible guarantee for the tranquillity of France. I hope that all the other Courts may take this same view of the question. Your ultra-Tories here do not take his view. They would wish to support the legitimist Duc de Bordeaux. There are people for whom the lessons of experience are as unavailing as they are for a four-year-old child. I have not seen Aberdeen; they say his face is more

like a tragic mask than ever—very black and lugubrious. I do not yet know what they have said at Berlin and Vienna of the late events in France. I think in Berlin they would like, first of all, to know what we think about it. Now the opinion of the Emperor on this subject will reach us here on September 15, and not before. But I am quite at rest as to what will be his opinion.

There is always company at Windsor. Lord and Lady Darnley spent several days there. The Seftons dined there Sunday. They say the King expresses himself still with much bitterness about the new King of the French. The Court will move, at the end of this month, to Brighton. Charles X. is not hurrying himself.* I am surprised that the new Government in France allows him so much delay. It is still believed that he will take ship for Hamburg, going from thence to Saxony.

Adieu, my dear lord—I am about the same, obliged always to be lying down, and far from well. Still, I believe in an imperceptible shade of improvement.

A thousand kind wishes.

D. LIEVEN.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 19th, 1830.

I thank you much, my dear lord, for your letter of the 17th, just received. When you tell me that the preservation of tranquillity and order in France depends mainly on their present Government being acknowledged by the foreign Powers, I entirely agree

* On his journey to Cherbourg.

with you. I believe also that your Government (*i.e.*, the Duke of Wellington) is too large-minded not to recognise the truth of this; and if he does not act at once, one must suppose that he judges it more prudent to allow a certain time to elapse first, in order to feel sure that what exists in France to-day will be found there to-morrow; and this would seem well judged, for the public mind there is as yet far from calm. If at the end of a fortnight things should still appear as stable as they do at the present time, it will be difficult for England to delay longer acknowledging Louis Philippe's Government, since I cannot imagine that your Ministers would wish to risk by their procrastination another chance of disorders in France. In a word, civil war in France must be equally contrary to both the desires and the interests of England. We shall have to wait a much longer time before making our voice heard on the matter, for it is physically impossible to know, before the middle of September what the Emperor thinks of the recent events.

It appears to me that Prussia is anxious to gain time in order to know first the opinion of Russia. About Austria there can be very little doubt, but without the support of England or Russia it will be impossible for her alone to throw herself into the arena. The new King of the French has sent General Baudrand here to announce his accession (he was, I think, director of his education when Duc de Chartres). General Athalin, another intimate friend of the French King's, is sent to Petersburg.

The Marquis de Choiseuil-Gouffier arrived yesterday in London, sent by Charles X. with two letters, one to the King, the other to the Duke of

Wellington. I have no idea what reception he met with.

Charles X. wishes to go and live in Austria; the rest of his people would prefer England. I saw Prince Leopold yesterday, who had escaped for a single day from Windsor. He tells me that the King is in good health and spirits. To-day the King is going to show Lord Sefton the offices at Windsor, and the day after to-morrow, his birthday, the whole Sefton family dine there. Covers will be laid for a hundred persons. For diplomacy, Austria and Prussia. Esterhazy is in high favour, always being noticed and brought forward; but I quite agree with you that this is not prudent at such a time. The only official intercourse which has taken place up to the present moment between France and England has been when the change of flag was announced, the which was recognised. What you say as to the existence of strong and unanimous feeling in England in favour of the changes in France was quite true in the beginning, but is no longer so now. The Court and the ultra-Tories are both inimical, and any manifestation of interest is now confined to the lower classes. The public remains in ignorance of the interest taken in the matter by *one* individual of the English aristocracy, for not a syllable comes from that quarter. In short, the interest is all supposed to lie with the Radicals, and so must it present itself to Europe. I do not know if I am mistaken, but it appears to me that recent events will profit the Duke of Wellington. The views of the Whigs and the Tories on what has taken place in France are diametrically opposed; and it will suit the Duke perfectly to find his adversaries fighting amongst themselves over this ques-

tion, when it comes to be discussed, as I fancy will be the case as soon as Parliament meets.

Here is a long letter for my poor strength. I am a little better, but always lying down, and I cannot walk twenty steps in the course of the day.

Adieu, my dear lord.

A thousand kind regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 20th [1830].

I hear, my dear lord, that the Duke of Wellington sent the Marquis de Choiseul back yesterday to Charles X. with the invitation to land at Weymouth, representing to him that public opinion was so strong in the larger towns that he could answer for nothing if the King were to disembark at one of the great ports. As Charles X. only wishes to remain in England until he receives the answer from Austria to his request for permission to settle there, they have assigned him as a residence (until the arrival of the answer) Lulworth Castle, which belongs to a Catholic—it is the same which the Duke of Gloucester had for some years.

General Baudrand was not to arrive until last night. I think the recognition by England will not be delayed. . . .

There is a bad feeling abroad in Paris, and the new King betrays weakness. The populace crowd into the palace, and he gives his time to everybody who asks for an audience. It is much to be feared that the Republican faction may force on new elections, which, if universal suffrage were adopted, must necessarily

bring about the overthrow of the poor remnant of monarchy which still exists. It is much to be hoped that the present Chamber may be left unchanged for some years; with it things may possibly take a turn and consolidate themselves; but a dissolution would, without doubt, bring on the Republic. The King's desires are excellent, but he lacks the energy for carrying them into effect. I have the best authority for these observations.

Adieu.

Howick,
Aug. 22nd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have to thank you for those letters, of the 17th, 19th, and 20th, which I have received since I last wrote to you. I should feel it a reproach to have suffered myself to be so largely in your debt if I had anything better to offer you than my acknowledgments for your kindness in affording me these proofs of your remembrance. . . .

Your letter of the 20th has in some degree quieted the alarm which I could not help feeling from those which had preceded it. I thought there was in them too great a disposition to look with more distrust than I think is justified by the occasion at what is passing in France. You had made me fear, too, that the Duke of Wellington, forming a false estimate of the state of public opinion here, might delay the acknowledgment of the new order of things in France, at the risk of some occurrence which might endanger the general peace, and of which in his heart, perhaps, he

might not be sorry for a pretence to avail himself, with the farther hope of dividing his opponents. This apprehension is now greatly relieved by what you communicate of his answer to Charles X., and of your expectation of an early recognition on the part of this Government of the new King of the French. The Duke is quite right. It is more than probable that Charles X. might be exposed to some insult. He has judged well, therefore, in placing him so as to be as much out of the reach of this as possible. Be assured that the public sentiment with respect to the late Revolution is as nearly universal as possible. Nothing could be so mistaken as to infer anything from the absence of persons of rank from the late meetings. They were, in my opinion, most injudicious and mischievous. I, therefore, for one could give them no countenance, though feeling as strongly as anybody can do on the events which have occasioned them. How, indeed, could I, with any pretence of consistency, deprecating all interference, give myself an example of interference of the most objectionable character and the most uncalled for? This, I have no doubt, was the cause of a similar abstinence in others; but if you wish for proofs of the state of the public opinion, look at all the speeches at the late elections, and at the comments of all the newspapers, beginning with the *Times*. These are always most conveniently collected in the *Sun*, and afford one of the best indications of the general feeling. It is this conviction that I trust to to influence the Duke of Wellington's policy. If he believes (as, from what you say, he appears to do) that there is a strong and general sentiment in favour of the late Revolution, he will yield to it, whatever his

secret inclination may be. Indeed, he can do nothing else, for his Administration must more than ever be maintained by concessions. He has lost not less than fifty in the late elections, and his loss in public opinion is even greater than in numbers. His difficulties, therefore, will be much increased in the next session, and his only way of getting over them will be to adopt the measures of his opponents. It is possible that some of the old Tories might be disposed to join him if he took a part directly hostile to the new Government in France; but will he, or can he, do this? In no other way can that question become one of adverse discussion, and even in that case I believe the inveteracy of our Ultras against him to be so great that I should not be surprised to see them turning Republicans, or even Jacobins, like the Ultras in France.

What you say of the new King is too much in accordance with what I have heard of his character; but you must make allowances for the difficulties of his situation. Till he is sure of the friendly disposition of foreign Powers, he must of necessity court popular opinion in France. The only way to obviate the mischiefs that may come from this cause is an early and cordial acknowledgment.

I wish you could tell me that your health was more improved. If the weather at Richmond is as cold as it is here, it is much against you.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 23rd [1830].

I have nothing new to send to you, my dear lord. You were told of the arrival of General Baudrand; he has seen the Ministers; a Cabinet Council is to be held to-day, and most probably the answer to France will be despatched in the course of a few days. I have not the slightest doubt as to its being a formal recognition of the new Government. Meanwhile, if I am well-informed, the 'apostolic' Metternich himself yields to necessity. He acknowledges the cause of Charles X. and his heirs as lost, and he will end, sooner or later, by recognising Louis Philippe. Europe can adopt no other course. God grant only that France may not mar her own fortunes. If they dissolve the present Chamber of Deputies, all is lost, for there is not the slightest doubt that France will then become a Republic—and an aggressive Republic. Let us hope that such a misfortune may not take place. Charles X. must have already left the anchorage of Portsmouth for Weymouth. The arrest of M. de Polignac is certain.*

The King is suffering just now from gout in the hands, and the doctors consider this inconvenience as not unfavourable to the health of his Majesty—I am talking of your King, of course. Windsor is full of people; never was there a King of England so hospitable. Austria is domiciled there. Lord and Lady Holland come to-day to Richmond for a short stay.

I doubt their sending Flahault over here as

* At Granville, August 15.

Ambassador. For myself, I should be enchanted if it were so.

The long sojourn of the Cumberlands at Windsor was yesterday brought to a close. The King, again, made a great speech on his birthday, in honour of the Duke of Wellington, and after drinking his health. It would be impossible to bestow more honour on a subject, or to support a Minister more openly and speciously than he does.

Adieu, my dear lord. As you will see, I am very poor as far as news goes to-day. I say nothing of my health; the subject is too monotonous, for I remain always at the same point. I have had no letter from you this morning. A thousand kind regards.

D. LIEVEN.

P.S.—The Chancellor came to see me again the day before yesterday. He declares that the Government must strengthen itself in the Lower House. I have heard vague reports as to a negotiation with the Barings, but would that be sufficient?

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 25th, 1830.

What has become of you, my dear lord? how is it that you do not write to me? I have been waiting anxiously, ever since the 17th. As far as I myself am concerned, I have nothing new to tell you. I still suffer much from pain in my back, and consequently am able to move about no more than I did two weeks since. However, my general health is better. To-day the King will receive General Baudrand, and this

is tantamount to a formal recognition. It seems the recognition could not have been made before the arrival of the Envoy with the notification from France, consequently there has been no needless delay on the part of your Government. The Duke of Wellington paid me a visit yesterday. He talks with great good sense about affairs in France, and as I have no reason for doubting his candour on this subject, I believe that he will strive to do whatever may be possible to avoid occasions or pretexts for misunderstandings. It seems to me that this policy would equally be in the interest of all the other Powers. Let us hope, then, that France, on her side, may afford them no reason for acting otherwise. The Duke of Wellington is persuaded that Polignac will be condemned to death. I must own that, in the present instance, the poor man has all my pity, because indeed I believe him to be more fool than knave. I have had no direct news from Paris for some days past. There is always the same fear of the Republican party getting the upper hand; and this would be a great misfortune.

I think your Government is anxious that anyone rather than M. de Flahault should be sent here as resident Ambassador; and, since they will probably consult the wishes of the Duke of Wellington, I doubt Flahault being named. I myself should have liked it much. The Duke is looking thin and ill; he is going to pay visits in the country, and does not intend to return to London before September 20. I have seen the Chancellor again; he still insists on the necessity for strengthening the Government in the House of Commons. But whom can they get if they will not take up with one or other of the two parties? Town is full of

gossip about proposals made or to be made to you or to the Canningites. I really believe in nothing of the sort. The Duke has hitherto been able to get on alone, and he will try to do it again. After all, on what point could he possibly now be attacked, with any chance of success?

At last, my dear lord, your letter of the 22nd has arrived. A thousand thanks for the same. . . . On Monday the Court moves to Brighton for the next few weeks. The King has gout in the hands. The Duchess of Wellington is dying. I have been interrupted twenty times over since I began this letter, and must close it now to avoid being late for the post. Good-bye, then, my dear lord. I hear there was the greatest possible enthusiasm at Vienna on hearing of the revolution in France. Something quite new, the Viennese extolling Liberalism! Metternich met Nesselrode at Carlsbad; he tried, but without success, to bring him round to his way of thinking. But as he could not gain his point, he made *volte face* with regard to his principles, and adopted those of Count Nesselrode. These, at least, are wise and good.

Once more adieu.

Howick,
Aug. 26th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for your letter of the 23rd, which I received yesterday. But still no better accounts of your health! If my wishes could cure you, how well you would be! Everything you tell me is most satisfactory, and I hope to hear that the new Government of France is recognised without

further delay. Why will you anticipate new difficulties and dangers? If I am rightly informed, Lafayette and the Republican party have joined cordially in supporting the new *régime*, as necessary to the preservation both of internal and external peace. But if the result should be ultimately the establishment of a Republic, why should it be an invading Republic? or what right have foreign Powers to object to any form of government the French may choose to adopt for themselves?

I shall be very glad to hear that Charles X. is gone. I thought from the beginning some part of the Austrian dominions the best residence. He will be in no danger of hearing there any clamours of his bigotry or despotism, nor any of the reproaches which issue from a free press. As to Polignac, no fate that awaits him can be worse than he deserves. But I wish he had escaped. The contempt and reprobation of all mankind in a hopeless exile would have been punishment enough; and I should have wished to see this glorious revolution consummated without a drop of blood, except what was shed by a brave people in defence of their liberty against a most violent and unjustifiable attack. But I am afraid it will not be in the power of the new Government to protect this wretched man against the universal indignation of the people. And I am not quite sure that, being in their power, to save him would not be carrying moderation and lenity too far.

The Chancellor has always talked the same language about the necessity of gaining more strength in the House of Commons, and the necessity is obvious enough. But I do not see how any negotiation with

the Barings is to effect this. By themselves they can do nothing; and I do not think either the Huskissons or Lord Lansdowne are to be gained in this way. My belief is that after some farther attempts to pick off individuals, the Duke of Wellington will meet the new Parliament under pretty much the same circumstances that closed the last, and that he will endeavour to maintain himself, as I told you in my last, by concessions upon all material points on which a formidable opposition might be expected to show itself.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 28th, 1830.

I am writing to you, my dear lord, without having anything new to tell you; and so much the better, because we must desire, for the sake of general repose, that France should give us nothing new to talk about. In spite of the rumours that some of the papers give of mobs in Paris, these really amount to nothing. Pozzo, who understands the situation, has been of late much less anxious in regard to the state of the capital. I have seen General Baudrand. He expressed a wish to have a talk with me. It was very interesting to hear what he had to say, and he told me much that was quite new. Among other things, that the Duke of Orleans and Lafayette were not personally acquainted with each other before these late events, and that it had taken a great deal to persuade Lafayette to support the nomination of the Duke, so

much so that at one moment they considered the cause to be lost. Even at the present time, he says, Lafayette is far more powerful than the King. General Baudrand talked to me also about his reception here. On the whole he is well satisfied. Here are some details. The Duke of Wellington icy cold. Aberdeen liberal. The King very urbane. The recognition by England being achieved, the Netherlands will now acknowledge the new King. Prussia, after some hesitation provoked by the intrigues of Metternich, has also decided on recognition, and the official notification will shortly take place. I think I told you how Metternich tried to humbug Nesselrode; and did not succeed. I know indirectly that the news of the events in Paris which reached Petersburg on August 10 created an immense sensation there. The Emperor had arranged to go that very day with my husband to inspect the fleet at Sveaborg, but he immediately changed his plans and remained in Petersburg to await further intelligence.

The Chancellor paid me a visit yesterday. He declares that the Government has gained twenty-three votes at the last elections. He leaves to-day with Lady Lyndhurst for Walmer Castle, where they remain for a week. The Duke of Wellington is ordered sea-bathing; he is suffering from rheumatism. There will be no meeting of Ministers before the 20th of September. The Hollands are here; I see them every day. Why are you not here also? The Court leaves on Monday for Brighton.

Adieu, my dear lord. This is a stupid letter, but I have told you everything I know.

A thousand sincere good wishes,

D. LIEVEN.

P.S.—Thanks, very hurriedly, for your letter of the 26th, this moment received. News from Paris states that Lafayette is not at heart loyal to the King. They are endeavouring to find a more Royalist general to command the National Guard of Paris, but are as yet by no means confident of success. Pray say nothing to anyone of this. Louis Philippe reviews the National Guard to-morrow, and it is by no means an insignificant event.

Howick,
Aug. 29th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

After thanking you for your letter of the 25th, I really have very little to say; this place can furnish nothing, and I have no new observations to make on what is passing in France. I really cannot feel much personal compassion for Polignac. Folly may excuse a great deal; but folly alone could not urge a man to measures inevitably attended with such an effusion of blood. There must have been at least as much violence and malignity of disposition. Lady Keith tells me that there is a desire to spare his life, but that it will be very difficult, as in addition to his guilt that produced the revolution, there have been found amongst his secret papers the most unequivocal proofs of his having been concerned as *chef de la congregation* in the *incendies* of Normandy.

The reception of Baudrand by the King has given me the greatest pleasure. I hope this acknowledgment of the new Government will not be followed by any indications of a disposition which might weaken or destroy its effect. You may see in it a proof of the impression that the strong indications of public opinion here have

made upon the Duke of Wellington, for whom, by the way, I think I perceive in you a proof of returning tenderness. I have no doubt that the appointment of Flahault as Ambassador here would be very disagreeable to him, though it ought not to be so if he considered the matter rightly. But even great men are not always exempt from little and ungenerous feelings, the influence of which often proves equally prejudicial to their own reputation, and to the interests with which they are charged. I have before expressed my regret at the King's speeches as unbecoming his situation, and likely to prove embarrassing hereafter. But all these violent demonstrations prove nothing, in my opinion, as to the security of the present Ministers. Indeed, in all my experience I have generally found the most vehement professions the least to be depended on, particularly when made out of place and season; and I know how soon kings and princes can forget what they have said, and speak and act in a sense directly contrary.

The papers put your name in the list of those who were at a great dinner given by Bülow.* I wish I could hope that you were so much better as to have made this possible. God bless you, dearest Princess,

Ever most entirely yours,

G.

P.S.—I must add, with respect to Polignac, that whatever compassion I might feel for him, has been entirely destroyed by his letter. Do you know anything of his unfortunate wife?

* Prussian Minister in London.

[The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, had united Holland and Belgium into a single Kingdom under William I., previously Stadtholder of Holland. In August of the present year, three weeks after the news had arrived in Belgium of the Revolution in Paris, a popular movement began in Brussels; the residences of the Ministers were sacked, and the mob repulsed the troops who were at last called out to restore order.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 31*st*, 1830.

Your letter of the 29th, my dear lord, has this instant arrived, and I answer it at once, beginning with your first subject. Polignac's letter to the President* of the Chamber of Peers is, without exception, the most miserable and despicable composition that ever was seen. In France, as at Howick, it has stifled every feeling of pity for the individual. I have not been able to learn anything further about his wife; I only know that the poor woman is expecting to be confined in a month. If you imagine that I am now more amiably disposed towards the Duke of Wellington than of late years, you must attribute this to there being now no cause in politics for irritation between us. The Turkish and Greek questions are settled—upon other matters I think we are agreed; and, if cordial relations can be established between us, this seems to me the better part under all possible circumstances. But you give to this slight *rapprochement* an importance which it really has not. We see each other from time to time—that does not constitute intimacy. I will further add, I do not believe that the Duke of Wellington is able to forget injuries; and he

* M. Molé. Prince Polignac's letter was dated Saint Lô, August 17.

has credited me with such. But, for my part, I am quite ready to forget his hatred of Russia, and possibly, too, of myself individually.

I was not present at the dinner given by Bülow, and it will be some time yet before I can be in a state to dine out. However, during the last few days I have been a little better. The insurrectionary movements at Brussels alarmed me much at first. Since yesterday Falck* has better news. It amounted only to disorder and pillage, nothing political, and not directed by a single person of note. It seems to me, then, impossible that it should not all be easily put down by a little energy. They were expecting the arrival of the King and the Royal Princes in Brussels. If this attempt at revolution should meet with any success, we shall have then to weep for Europe; for a general war must be the immediate consequence, and a war of which no one can foresee the end. As you know, the Treaty still exists, by which England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, have guaranteed the union of Belgium to Holland under the House of Orange. Consequently, if the Belgians dreamt of declaring their independence, or of uniting themselves to France—in one case, as in the other, the four Powers would have to intervene by force of arms. Whatever may happen in the Netherlands, I greatly fear that the revolutionary mania may extend yet further elsewhere; and it appears to me that the fifteen years of peace that we have enjoyed will be our last period of tranquillity for some time to come. All this must cause your Ministers much annoyance. The Duke of Wellington will be in town to-morrow.

* Dutch Minister in England.

There is no news as yet from Petersburg. I shall begin to be very curious in a week's time.

Adieu, my dear lord. According to reliable information, the King of late has privately expressed himself with little cordiality anent his Premier; but then what means this superabundant affection and confidence displayed in his public speeches? And why speeches at all?

Once more good-bye,

A thousand kind regards.

Howick,
Sept. 3rd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have again to thank you at the same time for two letters of August 28 and 31. They have proved, as your letters always are, most interesting to me. I only wish I could make a better return for them, and sometimes fear you may become tired of so unprofitable a correspondent. The movement in Brussels came upon me by surprise, and caused some fear for the consequences it might produce. I hope it may now be at an end, and that the Government will provide against the recurrence of a similar danger by removing all just causes of complaint on the part of the people. The *manie des revolutions* would not be to be feared if Governments were wise and moderate. I have never yet known a popular revolution that might not be ascribed to provocation on the part of the Government, more or less remote. '*Ce n'est jamais par envie d'attaquer, mais par impatience de souffrir, que le peuple se soulève*,' is an observation as old as Sully, which all history will verify.

That the example of France will give encouragement to the people in different countries, who suffer from the same oppression, to wish for similar relief cannot be doubted. But the security against this is not to be found in armies and Holy Alliances. The experience of the fatal policy pursued in what is called the settlement of Europe at the general peace, if Governments ever could be taught wisdom, would, one might hope, afford a salutary lesson; and, instead of prompting them to measures for putting down public opinion by force, show them the necessity of setting to work to put their houses in order in time. If a general war should take place, the characteristic of which would be monarchical opposed to popular principles, the misery and desolation which it would spread over Europe would, indeed, be incalculable; but my serious belief is that not one of the old Governments which engaged in it would survive it. The appearance of something like public spirit even at Vienna speaks volumes, and ought to convince Metternich himself how false his policy has been. At all events, I hope *we* shall not engage in any new combination; indeed, I think it nearly certain that, let what will happen, not a shilling or a man will be furnished from hence. You speak of a guarantee of the Netherlands; I cannot find in any of my books of reference here the treaty which contains it. Much will depend upon the manner in which it is framed; but I cannot conceive that it could bind us to interfere in any interior changes which might take place in the Government, which, indeed, would be an engagement to support the King against any consequences that might result from his own misgovernment. The

prospect, upon the whole, contains too much to excite our fears; and mine are the more sensibly alive to all that may happen, as it appears too likely, in the event of war, that our political interests and opinions might be at variance. Promise me that you will never suffer any such misfortune, if it should happen, to have any influence on our personal affection.

I should like to know how the Chancellor makes out his calculation of gain in the elections. Mine, and, what is more important, that of persons who know much more than I do on this subject, is directly the other way; and I think that you must have observed that in almost all the contests the Ministers, with very few exceptions, have sustained defeats. It is possible that the Chancellor may know of persons joining them, whom we still reckon in the ranks of opposition. But this I do not think likely; and if there are modifications, I have little doubt that you will find the result of the elections as I have stated. However, allowing them a gain of twenty-three, what will that do for them with the miserable bench which they have to show in the House of Commons?

They have, indeed, one hope in the indiscretion and divisions which may weaken their opponents, and this chance the Duke's . . .*

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Sept. 6th, 1830.

At last, my dear lord, I have some news of you. Your letters had become very scarce; but the

* The last paragraphs of this letter, probably written on the cover, are missing.

one of the 3rd just arrived gives me great pleasure, as does everything that you send me. There is not a word in your letter of which I do not approve, not a single opinion that I do not reciprocate. Perhaps the time may come when I shall not dare to tell you this, so to-day I will take advantage of my liberty.

I have no letters from my husband, but I indirectly hear that the late events in Paris made a deep impression on the mind of the Emperor. I know nothing positively, and I even think that subsequent events, and perhaps the various opinions received through his agents abroad, will have moderated the first unfavourable impression. Perhaps I am wrong in allowing myself to be alarmed, above all I am wrong in letting you know it; still, I cannot help confiding to you what is passing in my mind, but in this case, more than ever do I count on your absolute discretion. I promise you that, if ever our official interests should be at variance, my affection for you shall never suffer from it. Still, my dear lord, you also must not forget that in my position the statesman who in Parliament should not show consideration towards my country, could with difficulty continue on the same intimate footing with me. But my fears carry me too far, and I trust events producing such a misfortune may never arise.

Affairs in the Netherlands are deplorable. The Prince of Orange has behaved with a total want of dignity and good sense.* He has much damaged his future prospects, and it is truly pitiable. What will be the result of all this? War, I much fear, and of your

* Prince William, who was sent by his father to quiet the rebels with promises, had allowed himself to be carried so far as to suggest the legislative and administrative independence of Belgium *under* the Dutch crown.

doing; for, whether the Belgians intend to assert their independence, or whether they throw in their lot with France, in the one case as in the other, I repeat, you will be forced to make war. At any rate, such is said to be the language held by the people about the Ministers, and they add, that this will be the best means of rallying the old Tory party round the Government.

The French Government is in despair at the present state of things in the Netherlands; it has had nothing whatever to do with it, and desires to remain entirely neutral. But will this be possible? Each day sees King Louis Philippe less master of the situation. Lafayette really governs France.

Now, my dear lord, put yourself for one moment in the place of any one of the sovereigns of the older monarchies of Europe—and I would instance the King of Prussia as the one who governs most paternally, and is the best loved. Do you think it possible that he can regard with indifference all that is now taking place? that he can look on and see insurrections such as are beginning at Aix la Chapelle, and in other Rhenish towns, without repressing them, and that by force? The whole of that frontier is in a bad state; all the towns have leanings towards France; but can he allow a single village to be taken from him? Assuredly not. Just think what that would lead to. And supposing the Poles took it into their head to declare their independence, could we allow them to do so? Assuredly not. And the Hungarians—are they to be allowed to separate from Austria? Very certainly again, No!

What a state Europe is in! Do you really think it

will be possible to avoid a general war? I, for my part, am more than discouraged. Whatever concessions might now be made, and from whatever quarter, they would be taken as prompted only by fear. No one would be satisfied, and no end gained, but the bringing of discredit on the several Governments. Tell me, what is to be done in such a case? But I entreat you once more to bear in mind the individual situation of each sovereign, and you will allow that each must naturally desire to retain his rights. To secure these, what line of conduct should they adopt?

Nesselrode has returned in all haste to Petersburg, and I imagine that my husband also will hurry back to England—at least, this is what appears to me likely. The Duke of Wellington has started on a round of visits. Matuscewitz is now shooting in the country, and is going on afterwards to Manchester. There is no one in town. I am really better, and I can walk now pretty well. Lord and Lady Holland are coming back to Richmond.

Adieu, my dear lord, for writing tires me much. Let me hear from you soon, and do not forget me.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Sept. 8th, 1830.

One word, my dear lord, to tell you that we have opened our ports to the tricolor flag. A messenger from my husband, who arrived last night and brought despatches of August 25, was bearer of this news. I know these few lines will please you, but literally it is all that I have time to write.

Howick,
Sept. 9th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter of the 6th, which I received yesterday, gave me more than usual pleasure, from its kindness, but not unmixed with melancholy from your anticipation of the possible results of the present alarming appearances on the Continent. I will still hope for better things, and even if events should lead to my taking a part in the politics of this country which might be at variance with those of your Court, I will not despair of being able to conduct myself in such a manner as to prevent your being under the necessity of renouncing the intimacy which forms so great a part of the happiness of my life.

I have learnt with great regret that the first news of the French Revolution had produced so strong and so unfavourable an impression on the mind of your Emperor, and still more that it had been followed, without waiting for further information, by measures of so hostile a character (if the account be true) as the order for all Russians to quit France, and for the exclusion of the tricolor flag from your ports. I anxiously wait for further accounts, in the sincere and earnest hope that the intelligence which was to follow, both from France and the other countries, may have led to a more favourable and, as I think, a more just view of what has happened. If war takes place, I repeat it, I do not believe that any of the old Governments which may embark in it for the purpose of putting an end by force to a state of things which may alarm them for their own power, will continue to subsist.

You appear to believe, and I am quite convinced, that the Government of Philippe I. regrets this movement in the Netherlands, and is sincerely anxious to avoid giving just cause of offence to any of its neighbours. With this impression, can it be doubted that the policy of all other Governments ought to be to avoid doing anything on their part which might excite a spirit in France too strong to be resisted by its present rulers, who can only exist by popular opinion? And consider what means they have in their power, if they should be driven to the necessity of using them. Is there a country in Europe in which, if the Government should become avowedly hostile to them, they might not hope to find allies amongst the people. You enumerate all the cases in which the great powers might be called upon to act in the event of any commotion in their own dominions. Every one of these cases furnishes a danger which war would immediately produce. In Poland, in Saxony, in the provinces of the Rhine, in Hungary, in Italy, to excite insurrections, if forced into war, would be the obvious, and in some degree the defensive, policy of the French. Think well, therefore, before you go to war to prevent a danger which war would certainly produce. But what is to be done? Can Prussia, you say, be expected to see a spirit of insurrection manifesting itself in her Rhenish provinces without feeling herself called upon to put it down? And so of the rest. Certainly not; but I sincerely hope that with a determination to maintain its own authority will be found a disposition to attend to the spirit of the age, and to the just claims of the people. But these are internal matters, and as such will, I hope, be regarded both by this country

and by France (notwithstanding the example of Greece) as not justifying any interference. What I dread is that a further step may be taken, and to check what they may think of dangerous example to themselves, some of these Powers may interfere in disputes in which they are not immediately concerned. In saying this, I have, of course, the Netherlands particularly in my view. In the questions between the King and the people in that country I do hope no other Power will interfere. For God's sake, urge this with all your power; for if Prussia sends a single man across the frontier, or threatens interference from an advanced position, it will be impossible for the French Government to remain neutral. And then adieu to the peace of the world. But in the first instance, if a war should arise under such circumstances, be assured, as I before told you, that not a man, or a ship, or a guinea will be sent in support of it from hence.

But where am I going? This is too large a subject for a letter. But I will only add once more my earnest wish to preserve peace, and if you feel the same disposition, as I am sure you do, let me entreat of you not to censure too openly or too harshly the concessions of the Prince of Orange. He may have shown a want of talent and character; but concession, I am persuaded, is the best policy both for himself and for the world. That it would have come more gracefully and more beneficially before an attempt to extort it, is true; but this is the misfortune of clinging too long to an erroneous system, which would not be cured by an endeavour to maintain it under circumstances of increasing difficulty and danger.

How can the Duke of Wellington venture to absent

himself at such a moment, when days and even hours may be of the greatest importance? In these progresses, too, to receive the huzzas and the toasts of public dinners I see neither dignity nor wisdom. I thought this an error in Canning; but Canning had a showy eloquence, which assisted him on such occasions. The Duke, on the contrary, will not be raised in the opinion of those who are admitted to a nearer view of him in these festivities; and, at Liverpool, a scene awaits him for which I do not believe him to be prepared. I know that Brougham has declared his intention of giving him battle there, and forcing him either to hear in silence principles and opinions which will not be very pleasant, or of forcing him into a debate. This will not be a very agreeable alternative. Pray do not mention this; and after all, with so irregular a mind as Brougham's, I should not be surprised to hear that this denunciation of hostility ended in a speech of compliment.

We have had Lord Tankerville, Lord Fitzharris, and Lord Villiers here for three days; but they are all gone, and we are now again reduced to our domestic party, with the addition only of General and Mrs. Ellice. . . .

Ever most devoted yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Saturday, Sept. 11th, 1830.

I never realized so much as at the present moment, my dear lord, how poor a resource one has in writing. Though I have a thousand things to say,

a thousand reflections to communicate to you, I am stopped by the impossibility of explaining them to you in writing as I would wish. I am very much discouraged by the appearance of affairs. To me it seems that nothing short of a miracle can keep us out of war. And when I say us, I include you. What a prospect! And I do not foresee what may be the end of it. I have no news from Petersburg since writing my note to you of the other day, and I tremble when I think of the impression that the events in the Netherlands must produce. The state of things in France will have been accepted, as of necessity; but hardly will they have had time to accustom themselves to this regimen (which is somewhat difficult of digestion for Continental sovereigns), before news of another revolution bursts upon them of a far more positive kind. In short, my dear lord, as I have already told you, from the moment that I heard of the events in Brussels, I felt that we should perforce be obliged to intervene in the affairs of the Netherlands, by reason of our treaty obligations. And at this point, necessarily, will begin complications with France. A strong Government in that country would know how to get the better of these complications. The Duke of Orleans, however, has but little power, for Lafayette and the Republican party govern France; and so there is everything to fear.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Wellington amuses himself shooting, and is going to put his popularity to the test. It will be an interesting and curious experiment, truly, at Manchester and Liverpool, considering the people who will be there. They say that Huskisson and Brougham are to meet him.

I have this moment received your letter of the 9th, which, like everything else that comes from you, is benevolent, prudent, and well-considered. But, my dear lord, how impossible it is to make one's self understood at such a distance! Probably I do not express myself clearly. No two countries by themselves will go to war. There will be no *guerre d'opinion*, at least, to begin with. But it is absolutely necessary there should be a general understanding as to the obligations imposed on us by our treaties with reference to the kingdom of the Netherlands; and it is from the discussion of these, and from the effect that it may produce on France, that war will probably arise—a war in which England must take her part with the rest. This is what I foresee, and in the very near future; and which you would also foresee were you at the head of affairs. No one desires war, and all have their private interests for wishing to avoid it, but nevertheless war there will be. Such is my profound conviction. I need hardly repeat, for the hundredth time, how all that I say is for yourself alone. Italy is beginning to stir, and probably the first movement will take place in Piedmont. The King of Sardinia has recently placed at the head of his army an individual who has been dismissed from the Russian service as a quarrelsome, insolent fellow, and a *mauvaise tête*. The little Piedmontese army will be so exasperated by his domineering ways that I have no doubt an insurrection will be the result. The nomination of M. de Talleyrand as Ambassador to London is somewhat of an event. It does not please everyone in France. The Duke of Wellington will, I think, get on well enough with him. For society it is a piece of good

fortune. We have no superabundance of cleverness in the Diplomatic Corps in London. The last confidential news that I have received about the Low Countries is that probably the Comte de Celles is to form a Provisional Government in Brussels. Now this Comte de Celles is brother-in-law of Maréchal Gérard,* and has lately returned from Paris; all of which would make one greatly question the sincerity of France.

Have you no reference at hand to the treaty concluded by England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, with regard to the union of the Netherlands to Holland? The separation now demanded by the Belgians would almost dissolve this union, so solemnly guaranteed by the Powers; and this is why the King of Holland is powerless without the consent of his allies, and above all of England, since it was precisely to form a barrier against France that you established this order of things and spent so many millions in the erection of the fortresses. But I am involving myself in details, and as you yourself observed, these are not subjects for a letter.

I am thinking of going, on the 14th, for a week to Panshanger, and on the 21st to Brighton, to try salt-water *douches*. If they suit me, I shall stay there a fortnight, if not, only four or five days. But address your letters always to London. The Hollands have returned to Kensington, and their son, Mr. Charles Fox, has arrived.

Adieu. My dear lord, when shall you be in London? I suppose about the 20th of October. A thousand very sincere regards.

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* War Minister in France.

P.S.—I already knew, before receiving your letter, of Brougham's project for drawing the Duke of Wellington into a debate; but like you, I hold Brougham's projects very cheap.

Howick,
Sept. 11*th*, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

You judge rightly. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than the account of the admission of the tricolour flag into your ports. I trust it will be followed by the immediate recognition of the new King of the French, and that one of the clouds, at least, which hang over our prospects of peace in Europe, will be dispersed. Every day's intelligence convinces me more and more that nothing short of the most unjustifiable aggression should provoke a hostile movement on the part of any of the great Powers. I anxiously trust, therefore, whatever may be the opinions of the new arrangement which seems likely to take place in the Netherlands, or of its future effects, that whilst it is conducted as a matter of internal policy, no other power will interfere. Events constantly turn out very differently from our anticipations, however apparently well-founded, and it would be a presumptuous confidence in human foresight, so frail and so frequently in error, to sacrifice the chances which time affords, from fears of the future which may never be realized.

I have lately heard some very strange things. Amongst others one, which I immediately refuted as devoid of all probability and truth—that you had said to a person in high authority that you thought it better

that the present Government should continue as it is. It came to me in an odd way, and from a person who ought to know, and who asserted it most confidently; but, as I have already said, I at once declared it to be impossible.

God bless you, dearest Princess,

Ever yours,

G.

Howick,
Sept. 15*th*, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 11th with all the pleasure which hearing from you invariably gives me. . . . I think a case for interference, under the conditions of the treaty* might be made out, if it was our interest to interfere. But I see nothing to make such interference, as you seem to think, a matter of necessity. Rights would often prove very burdensome things, if the possession of them always inferred an obligation to exert them. The separation of the States of Holland and of Flanders may be contrary to our views of policy, and dangerous, in our opinion, to the peace of Europe, in its probable consequences. But if this arrangement can be made internally, the union of the two under the same King seems, in my opinion, to satisfy the letter of the treaty, and in that case I should certainly be opposed to any interference. If being in possession of all the facts of the case, which can be sufficiently known only to the Ministers of the different Powers, I should find myself confirmed in that opinion, I should declare and act upon it at once: foreseeing all the dangers that must immediately result

* The treaty concluded after the Congress of Vienna, in 1815.

from negotiations formally opened between the three Powers, for the purpose of regulating, by their intervention, the future government of the kingdom of the Netherlands. I hear the Duke's gentlemen and ladies speak with delight of the appointment of Talleyrand. But I suspect they will not find him exactly the same Talleyrand who assisted Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Duke of Wellington in their notable settlement of Europe,* of which we are now reaping the fruits. This, and the invasion of Spain,† may be taken as the two great causes of all the evils which we have now to fear. I am very anxious about the result of the dinner at Manchester. As to popularity as a Minister, be assured that the Duke has none, though he may be followed by a great mob, as he would be equally if he were led next week to execution. But I shall not be surprised if his good fortune again serves him in producing some violent extravagance from Brougham, who, from all I hear—for I have had no direct communication with him—seems to have been in a state of complete intoxication ever since his election for Yorkshire.‡ Do not quote me for this.

This, I expect, will find you at Panshanger. How I wish it was in my power to meet you there! This reminds me of the proposal to Lord Melbourne, which I hear has been repeated. Do you know anything of it? I had almost forgotten to say that I have heard in a way which, however improbable the thing may appear, forbids my disregarding it entirely, that the Duke of Wellington is not unlikely to appear in the new

* At the Congress of Verona, in 1822.

† By the French, in 1823, to reimpose the authority of Ferdinand VII.

‡ In the elections for the new Parliament, Mr. Brougham, who did not own an acre in the county, was elected M.P. for Yorkshire.

character of a Parliamentary Reformer in the next session. This really would be, as Sefton would say, 'Good fun.' And after all, is it a more sudden or a more extraordinary change than that on the Catholic Question? If you go to Brighton I shall expect full details of the Court; but, above all, let me hear that the *douche* has afforded you all the benefit which could be hoped from it. God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Sept. 19th, 1830.

I arrived here, my dear lord, so tired out by my journey, that I have been in bed ever since, and unable to write a single word. And now comes the news from Manchester of the horrible catastrophe there, and this has distressed me greatly.* The circumstances which brought about the death of Huskisson are so startling that one's imagination is struck with horror. Here, again, fate is on the side of the Duke of Wellington. His enemies, be they private or public, even in their deaths, become more or less profitable to him.

I have news from Pozzo of the 16th. The future of France is all in shadow to him. The King has no power whatever, and things are going from bad to worse. In another quarter, Germany, insurrection also is spreading. What is going to be the end for Europe of this alarming series of events? I have received your letter of the 15th; many thanks for the

* Mr. Huskisson was run over and killed by the locomotive at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.

same. Lord Melbourne is here. Palmerston comes to-morrow. I can answer for it that, up to the time when I am writing to you, there has been no renewal of proposals. But, according to my idea, the death of Huskisson will probably bring on negotiations, though I still doubt their being crowned with success. The Duke of Brunswick went the other day to Brighton to pay his respects to the King, but was not received. The King sent him word that he must first announce himself to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; so he was obliged to come back to London without having seen his Majesty. I am going to Brighton on the 22nd. They say that M. de Talleyrand arrives there the 25th, straight from Dieppe, and that he will remain for the present at Brighton. I am sorry, my dear lord, to have to stop, but writing tires me too much.

To Princess Lieven.

Howick,
Sept. 20th, 1830.

What has become of you, or what has happened to you? Here is the eighth day, that I am still expecting, in vain, to receive a letter. . . . For God's sake, give me some sign of life the moment you receive this, if you have not done so before! Till you do, I find it impossible to write. I will, therefore, advert only in a single word to the death of poor Huskisson. What a fatality! and how dreadful the manner of his death! I never was more shocked than when I read the first account of it, as, I am sure, you must have been also. I had no great confidence in

his political integrity; but at this moment he might have been most useful, even if, as by some of the Ministerial papers one might be led to suppose, that things were tending to a junction between him and the Duke of Wellington, and I regret him as a great public loss.

Once more let me hear from you without delay.

Ever most entirely yours,

G.

Howick,
Sept. 21*st*, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter from Panshanger, which I have just received, has removed the fears that I seriously began to feel to a certain degree. But I am grieved to see that you still suffer so much. . . . I had anticipated all the feelings you express on the miserable fate of poor Huskisson. Whether it will prove a fortunate event for the Duke of Wellington remains to be seen. That it is a great loss to the country, in any view that can be taken of it, is certain; but I am not so sure that it will in its consequences prove in the same degree advantageous to the Administration.

The prospects on all sides are, indeed, threatening. But I hope the great Powers of Europe will not give in to the policy which fear is too prone to suggest, and sovereigns equally ready to adopt, of endeavouring to check the spirit which alarms them, by force. But I have already said enough upon this chapter. It is natural that the state of things in France, and particularly the want of power in the King, should not accord with the feelings and opinions of those who

look to the regulated course of affairs under a strong and established Government. But what you complain of there is the inevitable, and, I hope, only the temporary consequence of a revolution. It was so here after the revolution of 1688, and I have no doubt that the want of power in King William was as disagreeable to himself, and was contemplated with equal disapprobation by the other sovereigns of Europe at that time. Yet from these beginnings see what a state of power has been obtained by our King! In truth, the power of the Executive Government is necessarily progressive, and these restraints, which at the commencement of a new dynasty may appear inconvenient, are necessary for the establishment and preservation of public liberty. I am very sanguine in believing that these views will be confirmed by the progress of things in France. But peace is necessary to this hope. With the experience of the first Revolution, and with the evidence of the present state of Europe before you, let me again and again entreat you to use all your influence in dissuading from any measures which may excite in the French people a spirit uncontrollable by the Government, which I believe to be studiously and sincerely pacific.

God bless you, dearest Princess,

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Ryegate,
Sept. 23rd, 1830.

I have received your letter of the 20th, my dear lord, and am much touched by your solicitude on

my behalf. You will have seen by my letter from Panshanger that I am in life, but not in health. I have been obliged to halt at Ryegate, and slept here last night. The doctors have every confidence in the *douches* which I am going to take; we shall see how they will affect my poor back. A letter from Petersburg informs me that the Emperor was about to recognise King Louis Philippe; so I consider the affair as settled by this time. My letter is dated the 8th, when they still knew nothing whatever of the events in Brussels. The King of Prussia is massing a hundred thousand men in his Rhenish provinces; but this is only a precautionary measure of internal policy, of which France has no reason to complain. The Netherlands appear to me disposed to repent of their behaviour, and I believe that all will be arranged peaceably and without any intervention. So much the better. I left Lord Palmerston at Panshanger. There was no indication whatever of proposals from the Duke of Wellington. If he were to make any, I think they would be received as were the first. But I own to you, in spite of all that is said, I do not for a moment believe the Duke feels any need of strengthening his Government; he will endeavour to go on as he has done up to the present time. I have nothing further now to tell you. I only wished to send you a few lines to say how much I appreciated the kindness of your last letter. Good-bye, my dear lord, I will write to you as soon as I get to Brighton.

A thousand kind regards.

Howick,
Sept. 28th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 23rd from Ryegate. It is short, as all your letters have lately been, and gives me nothing to answer except on the subject of your health. . . . I read with great satisfaction the expression of your opinion that the disturbance in the Netherlands might end without any foreign interference of any kind. It is only in this way that the general peace can be preserved. No other Power could, undoubtedly, take just ground of offence at any force that might be sent by the King of Prussia, for the purpose of maintaining his Government in the Rhenish provinces. But can so large an army as a hundred thousand men be required for this purpose, and if carried to that amount, would it not naturally excite the suspicion of an ulterior object, and become a cause of jealousy, more particularly in France? I believe with you, that the Duke of Wellington means to meet Parliament as he is. We shall see. In the meantime I do not think he has much cause to be satisfied with his provincial tour. Have you read the Ministerial pamphlet? I was not a little amused at finding that it was *my* pride, and intolerance of any rival in power, that had made a junction between me and the Duke impracticable. Have you seen, also, the pamphlet on the other side—which I think must be Brougham's ?—powerfully and bitterly written, but not very prudent in some particulars. His calculations on the result of the election I believe to be generally right; but there are some evident mistakes, and it is, after all, not very wise to stake too much on results

which may disappoint you from a thousand causes, of which nobody can well estimate the effects till Parliament has met. When do you expect the Prince, and what have you done about a house? I think it is about this time that your lease of Ashburnham House is to expire.

God bless you, dearest Princess,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Tuesday, Sept. 28th, 1830.

Thanks, my dear lord, for your last letter. Pray do not scold me when I tell you that I quoted something out of it to the Duke of Gloucester. He had some doubts as to what you might have felt about the death of Huskisson. What you say on this subject is so honourable alike to yourself and to his memory, that I could not help letting the Duke know of it. In confessing my indiscretion, I prove to you that I did it for good reasons. I can tell you nothing about the Court as yet. The two first days after my arrival I could accept no invitation, I was too unwell. Since then the King did me the honour of inviting me to dinner, but this dinner was put off by *his* being ill. He has gout in the foot, and cannot leave his room. The Queen also has been ill, and the Landgravine* is confined to her bed. It is a hospital rather than a court; and as I am on the subject of bodily infirmities I must tell you that the *douches* are doing something for me, so I really begin to hope that I may get cured

* The Landgravine of Hesse-Homburg, the King's sister.

here. I only wish that it had been some other place; for I detest Brighton, with its crowd and its tiresome cliffs. I have seen the Chancellor here. He agrees with you and with everyone as to the necessity of a modification in the Government. He represented this to the Duke of Wellington, but it does not appear that his advice will be followed. After all, I am not very sure that the Duke is not right. Experience, at least, is in his favour. He has got on hitherto alone, and may continue to do so. The news from the Continent is not good. Up to the present time, at least, we know nothing of the result of the advance on Brussels. And this delay in getting news is not a good sign. In the Electorate of Hesse there is also some stir. They have demanded of the Elector that he should send away his mistress, and convoke the Estates. He has consented to everything. So much the better for morality; but the custom of obeying the dictation of the people is certainly a new method of procedure, and one which places the sovereign in a sorry condition. I have been told of a witty saying of my Emperor's, '*Nous sommes trop chers, si nous ne sommes pas nécessaires.*' In France they are far from keeping quiet. The clubs are making mischief, and if they continue in the way they are now going on, the monarchy will not exist for long. The King does not wish to receive M. de Talleyrand at Brighton. He had intended going up to town for the audience. If his gout, however, continues, he must receive him down here. They tell me that the King is somewhat nettled by the Duke of Wellington having been able to find time to go everywhere except to the Pavilion. It is believed, however, that he is coming this week. They have

just sent to invite me to dine to-day at the Pavilion—a proof that the King is better.

Good-bye, my dear lord; the time for your coming to London is drawing near, and you can understand how glad I feel. By the way, address your letters to me to Hanover Square. Alas! I am there now.

Many kind regards.

P.S.—The King has sent for the Duke of Wellington. He answered that he would come for '*a quarter of an hour*.' He has just arrived.

[On September 19, fresh disturbances broke out in Brussels, and the civic guards were overpowered. Prince Frederick of Orange, concluding that action was inevitable, at last made up his mind to attack the town. After four days' fighting, on September 27, the Dutch troops, unable to advance, were withdrawn from the positions they had won. On the following day, the Lower Chamber of the States-General decided in favour of a dissolution of the union between Belgium and Holland.]

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Oct. 1*st*, 1830.

My dear lord, the very day I wrote my last letter to you we received here the vexatious news from Brussels. The Duke of Wellington was dining at Court. After dinner they handed him the despatches with the account. He is much worried by it, for he had considered the affairs of the Netherlands as settled, and never for a moment imagined Brussels would hold out. He would not believe a single word of the news I told him my son had written me from London. My son had received a letter from a friend in

Brussels, telling him that Prince Frederick was beaten, and had fallen back. I talked it all over for a long time with the Duke at the Pavilion, and also with the King, and yesterday again with his Grace at my own house. He is very uneasy, and his fears are great on this subject. The reports he receives state that several French soldiers and officers, and, it is said, a French general, are superintending the defence of Brussels. Things are becoming so complicated that he considers it next to an impossibility to avoid a general war. To me, also, it seems almost unavoidable; and, further, I do not see when or how it will terminate. Europe is sick indeed. I think the English Government never had a more difficult matter on hand. Whatever way you turn, everything is complicated and most serious. Will the Duke of Wellington be strong enough to go through with it all?

The King and the Queen have been most kind to me; the King very chatty and lively, but prudent. He suffers much from gout in the hands. It went to his feet, but did not stop there. On Wednesday he will go to town to receive M. de Talleyrand. The Duke of Wellington talked much to me in his favour; he looks upon him as a very straightforward man. That reminds me of how he used to consider M. de Polignac as a very clever man.

Adieu, my dear lord. I am getting better, so I decide to prolong my stay at Brighton till the middle of October. The King spoke to me of Huskisson's death with deep regret, considering him a great loss for England.

Always yours,

P.S.—I open my letter again to thank you for yours of the 28th, this moment come in. The post is going, and I have no time to answer it.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Oct. 4th, 1830.

Events, my dear lord, are hurrying on rapidly, and becoming more complicated than ever, and I think a crisis is at hand. The King of the Netherlands is turning to his Allies for help (but keep this fact to yourself). What may not this lead to, and that very shortly? Do you suppose that the Allies can permit the Belgian Netherlands either to declare their independence, or to unite themselves to France? Whose will be the troops sent to occupy the fortresses erected as barriers against France, and built with English gold? However good may be the intentions of France, look at the weakness of her Government; look at the spirit of insurrection which is showing itself everywhere; look at the gravity of the political situation on all sides; the danger threatening all nations; and the paucity of wise heads to extricate us from our dangers! I feel deeply anxious, and I cannot perceive one single ray of light to brighten the prospect.

I expect my husband at the end of this month—such, at least, were the plans we made at the time I left Warsaw, and I see no reason for their being changed, neither does my husband write of any alteration. According to the gossip of the Court, the Duke of Wellington is meditating some Parliamentary reform.

If true, it will just be a repetition of what took place on the Catholic Question—the Whigs for him; the Ultra-Tories against him—and the Session will be like that of the year '28. I have not been invited to the Pavilion since Wednesday. Sir Robert Wilson,* they say, dined there the day before yesterday. The King is still suffering from gout; nevertheless, he is going to town to-morrow to give audience to M. de Talleyrand. The Duchesse de Dino† has arrived in London. Matuscewitz is running all over the country, and shooting—staying with the Wiltons for ten days, when, with such important events pending, he ought to have been staying quietly in London. . . .

I am interrupted, and must hurriedly say good-bye.

Howick,
Oct. 6th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for your two letters of September 28 and October 1. . . . I have made up my mind to take my family at once to town. There, then, I shall be fixed, for good or for bad, till the end of the Session. It is a great sacrifice, and not likely to be productive of any good, either to myself or others; but I have no choice, and regrets are unavailing.

It seems quite clear that the Great Captain will not seek for additional strength in the camps either of the Whigs or of the party which I know not how to

* General Sir R. Wilson was reinstated in the army after George IV.'s death. See note to p. 39, vol. i.

† Prince Talleyrand's niece, who did the honours of the Embassy.

designate, except as the remains of Canning. The course things are taking makes a junction with the Old Tories more probable. Their feelings with respect to all these revolutionary movements are naturally the same as the Duke's. Like the old French emigrants, they have learnt nothing, and forgot nothing; and, like them, would involve this country in ruin if they had their own way. This, at least, is the opinion I am inclined to form of the Duke of Newcastle and such-like politicians. Of the Duke of Richmond, whom I by no means class with them, and of others, I have better hopes; and if there should be such an approximation as I have supposed, there are others amongst these who have joined the Government who cannot, I think, continue to support it. In the matter even of numbers, therefore, it is doubtful whether by a measure of this nature they would gain much—in any other way, absolutely nothing, or worse than nothing. I had heard before that the Chancellor was convinced of the necessity of gaining additional strength, and had pressed it upon the Duke, who, in his usual peremptory way, had at once silenced the proposal. If the Chancellor was aware of his own power, he would not suffer his opinions to be set aside in this manner. You say that, after all, the Duke, perhaps, may be in the right in admitting nobody of real weight to a participation of his power. Do you, then, think that in the present state of the world, with so many dangers and difficulties accumulating upon us on all sides, it can be either creditable to himself, or safe for the country, to continue under a Government which, if it has wisdom to conceive, has not power to enforce any policy of its own, and can only hope to

exist by divisions amongst its opponents, and by anticipating them in the proposal of popular measures?

The question in Belgium as to the separation of the two Governments seems to be decided both by the events at Brussels, etc., and by the vote of the States-General. I still believe in the possibility of preserving peace if we take a decided course against interference either on our own part or that of any other Power. There is, in my opinion, no *casus fœderis* that can be justly claimed against this, and I am sure both justice and policy equally require it. Your Emperor's remark on Sovereigns is well said, but I think it is not new.

I pity you for having been obliged to evacuate Ashburnham House, and, still more, for being driven for refuge to Hanover Square. I never was in a house that I disliked so much. The only pleasure I look to in going to town is that of seeing you. I shall be there by the 26th at latest.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

G.

Howick,
Oct. 7th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have a moment to thank you for your letter of the 4th, which I have just received. The news which it announces I have been expecting for some days. In my letter yesterday, I told you that I did not think that we could be called upon to act in the affairs of the Netherlands, by virtue of any *casus fœderis*. To that opinion I adhere, and shall certainly be opposed to any interference beyond good advice and mediation. In this way only can the danger be obviated. Think of a war, with insurrections in the

rear of every one of the allied armies, and with the chance of disaffection in the armies themselves. All this is the result of the famous settlement of Europe at the peace by Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Duke of Wellington, one of the most absurd provisions of which always appeared to me to be the barrier of fortresses established at our expense, more especially after the experience of the late war, when it was proved how little strong places can prevent the advance of a superior army. But this was a child of Wellington's, and may too probably induce him to throw good money after bad.

Nothing would surprise me in the way of measures directly opposed to former opinions; but his declarations and Peel's against Parliamentary Reform, having been as strong as possible on the part of both, even in the last session, are rather too recent. However, as I have said, nothing would surprise me, and I hear from others what you say on this subject. But can the character or authority of a Government be assisted even by good measures, indicating such a total want of all consistent views, and steadiness of principle and opinion? You are greatly mistaken if you think this will assist the Government, as the Catholic Question did. I certainly shall support a proposal for Parliamentary Reform, but the Ministers will not find in me in this, as in the former instance, a personal defender. If moves of this kind are in contemplation, be assured that those who make them feel that they are nearly reduced to checkmate, which is inevitable without a false move on the part of their adversaries.

I have not another moment. God bless you,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Oct. 8th, 1830.

I have been a long time without hearing from you, my dear lord. The Chancellor boasts of having received a letter, in which you tell him that you are to arrive in London some days before the meeting of Parliament. This, at any rate, is good news, and I am really so little accustomed to good news just now.

It is said—but I beg of you not to quote me—that proposals have been made to Lord Palmerston, and that they have led to nothing.* If the Duke of Wellington really feels it necessary to strengthen his Government, I do not understand his only making these isolated offers, because it is self-evident that they could not be accepted, or supposing they were, they could not be productive of efficient help.

Affairs in Belgium assume each day a more serious aspect. Up to the present time the French Government is behaving with wonderful prudence; but I doubt if it will be possible for them to keep strictly to the line that the Treaties impose. For it is matter of fact that one of the principal articles was purposely directed *against* France. On the other hand, however, France, having acceded generally to the terms of the Alliance of 1818, has made herself party to all the engagements therein agreed to. If now she should refuse her concurrence in the clause relating to Belgium, she must cease to be a member of the Alliance. It all appears to me a labyrinth of confusion, very difficult to see any way out of. The only thing certain is, that

* See Bulwer's 'Life of Palmerston,' i., p. 382.

the four Powers, England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, cannot contemplate the possibility of the fortresses falling into the hands of France. Just at present, diplomacy alone is at work, I think.

The King has given audience to M. de Talleyrand, who, to the great surprise of the King, drew out of his pocket a long written speech. The Duke of Wellington has already given two dinners to the French Ambassador. At the last were present the Duchesse de Dino, Lady Burghersh, and Madame St. Antonio, Esterhazy, Bülow, and Matuscewitz. The last I am expecting at Brighton for a few days. . . .

The Court just now is more occupied with the affairs of Brunswick than with those of Belgium. They are trying to get the Duke to abdicate of his own free will, because his subjects decidedly do not wish to have him any longer. The King is resolved not to uphold him. The poor young man resists, but the Great Captain is taking part in the matter, and will probably carry it his own way.

Good-bye, my dear lord. Pray write to me.

News from France is better. The Government seems to be getting stronger, thank God! and this gives hope that things may continue quiet.

A thousand good wishes.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Oct. 13th, 1830.

I am enchanted, my dear lord, to hear of your determination to come up to London, bag and baggage. Your plan has, at least, an appearance of permanency,

which pleases me much. I, also, expect to be in town at the date of your arrival—at least for a few days, having much to arrange in my new house. If my husband should still delay coming to England, I shall settle my children at Richmond, and this would oblige me to pass a good deal of time in the country. I am very much better, but not quite free from pain yet. I have my son still with me.

Matuscewitz is gone away. I dined at Court the day before yesterday; the King appears to be better. He has become very active, and pays great attention to business, very affable and pleasant tempered, and is particularly kind and amiable to me personally. He intends to stay only three weeks in London, and then to return and remain here till February 21. The Queen's birthday is to be kept on February 24.

News from Germany is better. The troops in Hesse behaved very well, and the sedition was put down. France has received very graciously all your proposals for intervention in Belgium (most confidentially do I tell you this), and the fact astonishes me so much, that I cannot help imagining something very deep behind it all. France's interest is to gain time, and to continue to negotiate until she finds it convenient to act. See if this will not be the result of the present negotiations. In a very few months, by a *tour de main*, she will take possession of the fortresses. Pray, my dear lord, keep entirely to yourself all the news and conjectures I write to you. Lord Palmerston has gone to Paris, therefore there is no question just now of any arrangement with him. M. de Talleyrand and the Duke of Wellington are at Middleton.

Adieu, my dear lord. I am so very happy in

thinking that I shall soon have to put another address on my letters to you. What a pleasure to look forward to meeting so soon!

A thousand kind regards.

Howick,
Oct. 14*th*, 1830.

Many thanks, dearest Princess, for your letter of the 8th. In the meantime you will have received two from me, which will have proved to you that there is no disposition to let the correspondence languish on my side.

I have had a positive confirmation of the offer to Palmerston—a single insulated offer of a place in the Cabinet to him individually, which was immediately refused. The Great Captain must have a singular notion of his power to call anybody, as it may suit him, into his service, to think that such an offer could have any other result. Did he then make it to satisfy others, expecting and intending that it should be refused? This seems to be the only rational way of accounting for it, and yet such offers indicate a sense of weakness which I should have thought he would not be willing to proclaim. I am glad to find, however, that opposition to his Government is not in all cases an unpardonable offence, and I should like to know what the Duke of Bedford and Lady Jersey—who justified his making no advance to me by my speech at the end of the Session—will say to this second proposal to persons who had been ever since their removal from office in the bitterest opposition to the present Administration.

From all I hear, as well from others as from you, my hopes are increased that the affair of Belgium may be settled without a war. The question of the fortresses is more difficult for those who made that foolish arrangement than it would be for others; but as the Duke is in the course of making a *Palinodia* of all his former principles and opinions, I hope this difficulty also may be surmounted. Lord Melville has given my son a ship, and he will have to leave us immediately. I take this as a personal kindness, but it has not, and I am sure was not intended to have, anything to do with politics. I have been living for some time in a very patriarchal way, my sons, sons-in-law, daughters, and grandchildren, who have been with me, numbering no less than twenty-three. We break up next week, and I shall set out myself on the 22nd or 23rd, as I announced to you in my last. If I do not find you in town I shall take it very ill. You must establish yourself there for the winter, as I shall otherwise have little hope of seeing you. I hear Matuscewitz afforded great amusement to the party at Heaton by his initiation as a jockey.

God bless you, dearest Princess; our correspondence is drawing to a close, but let this be an inducement to you to write more frequently during the interval that remains before I shall have the pleasure of seeing you.

G.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Oct. 19*th*, 1830.

Many and grateful thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of the 14th. I hope that my acknowledg-

ment of the same will still reach you at Howick. Excuse a short letter, for I am tired out by a day divided between Court duties and nursing my little George, who is ill.

A messenger from Petersburg yesterday brought the news that Russia has recognised King Louis Philippe, and at the same time my husband sends me word that he will be here sooner than he had at first said, so that I now expect him in the beginning of November.

Your Government appears uneasy with regard to Ireland. They say there is a question of sending over the English militia. Do you think there is really any danger in that quarter? The Chancellor is much dissatisfied. He had wished the Government to strengthen itself by taking in outsiders, and he has returned to London in a very ill humour.

Things are going very badly indeed in the Netherlands. The Prince of Orange will probably be drawn into doing something foolish. He is a weak man, and they say that two of the Ministers are traitors. Prince Frederick throws up the command of the army; he is quite discouraged, and the Hague is full of lamentations. This is all very deplorable. In France it seems to me that the King is gaining in stability. As you doubtless know, the ex-King is gone to Scotland, and will take up his residence at Holyrood. Up to the last moment the journey was kept a profound secret.

The King and Queen are most gracious to me; I have the honour of seeing them frequently. The Queen is a far cleverer woman than they generally give her credit for; above all, she shows much determination of character. The King is still suffering from gout in the hands.

If my little boy is well enough, I intend going to London on the 28th, but I cannot manage to do so earlier. Good-bye, my dear lord; I will write to you again on your journey, if you will send me the addresses.

Meanwhile, adieu, and a thousand kind regards.

Howick,
Oct. 22nd, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just received your letter of the 19th, having also to acknowledge that of the 13th, received since my last. . . .

I must confess that I do not feel at my ease about Ireland, though Lansdowne, who has been travelling all over that country, gives, upon the whole, a satisfactory account of it. But the Catholic Question was, unhappily, delayed too long, and principally by the opposition of the very persons who carried it. They gave way at last to their fear of the effect of the agitation which O'Connell had so successfully promoted, but not till he had acquired, by means of it, a degree of popularity and influence which now, assisted by the events that have followed the French Revolution, he is evidently disposed to exert for the worst purposes. I see there is a great alarm in the City on this subject, and I hear that Government have received some unpleasant accounts respecting the disposition of some of the troops. I hope this will prove a false alarm; but if it is to obviate such a danger that it is in contemplation to send a part of the English militia, I doubt very much the prudence of that measure.

What you say of the Chancellor does not surprise me. The Great Captain certainly treats his colleagues in a way that would not be patiently submitted to by a man who felt his own importance. But if the Chancellor shows any symptoms of ill-humour, they do not more certainly indicate the feeling of resentment, that would be natural under such circumstances, than a secret distrust of the solidity of the Administration. It really seems almost impossible that it should stand. But what a prospect for the Government that may succeed it!

I think I can explain both the measure of sending the ex-King to Holyrood House, and the secrecy which has attended it. I know that some time ago a case was laid before the Attorney-General requiring his opinion whether Charles X. was liable to an arrest for debt. He mentioned this to a friend of mine, stating at the same time that he saw no ground on which the law could give him protection, being invested with no public character of any kind, but with a reserve of his final opinion till he had given the matter a fuller consideration. It seems probable that his first impression may have been confirmed, and that, in consequence of this opinion, Charles X. may have sought refuge in Holyrood House, within the precincts of which, as a royal palace, all debtors are protected from arrest. What a catastrophe for a man who, three little months ago, was the Sovereign of *cette belle France!* This I give you only as my conjecture, founded on the information which I have stated.

I was very sorry to hear of the illness of Prince George, but hope that all your anxiety about him is removed, and that you are now occupied, as I am, in preparations for settling yourself in London.

We leave this place to-morrow, sleep at Lambton, and proceed on our journey from thence on Sunday without further interruption. We hope to arrive in town early on Wednesday the 27th.

I am afraid it is now too late to give you directions for my journey, but if you can write on Monday or Tuesday, directing to me at Mrs. Walker's, the Cock Inn, Eaton, near St. Neots, where we shall sleep on Tuesday night, I shall get your letter in passing.

How eagerly I look forward to the happiness of seeing you, and how severe will be my disappointment if you are not in London!

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Oct. 26th, 1830.

I have but this moment, my dear lord, received your letter from Howick, so you see it is impossible for me to write to you at your last stage before town. I send this to London. My poor George has been so ill that I cannot move him from Brighton before to-morrow, and I am not sure of being able to take him all the way up to London without a rest. At any rate, I shall be there Thursday. . . . My back has benefited by my stay here, and I am especially glad to have had the opportunity of finding myself on such a pleasant footing with the Court. . . .

Good-bye, my dear lord, we shall meet in two days at the latest. A thousand kind regards.

CHAPTER III.

THE POLISH INSURRECTION.

The Duke of Wellington and Reform—The Debate on the Civil List; Resignation of the Duke—The King sends for Lord Grey—The New Administration—The Armistice between Holland and Belgium—The Blockade of the Scheldt—Outbreak of the Polish Insurrection—Lord Anglesey in Ireland—The Czar's Speech to the French Chargé d'Affaires—Bad News from Poland—Prospects of the Prince of Orange—Marshal Maison's Conversation with Prince Metternich—Walewski and Wielopolski arrive in London—The Prince of Orange and the Conference—The Treaty of Vienna and the Polish Constitution—The King's Speech at Dinner—Ireland and Poland—Candidates for the Belgian Throne—The Duke of Leuchtenberg—The Polish Manifesto—O'Connell in Ireland—The Aspect of Affairs in Poland—Lord Grey's Plan of Reform laid before the King—Brighton in 1831—The Duc de Nemours is Offered the Belgian Crown; Refusal by France—The Attempt at Ghent—The Prince of Naples a Candidate for Belgium—The Tories and the Government—Lord Londonderry and the Question of Reform—Sir Henry Hardinge—The Court at Brighton—The Debates on the Civil List—The Prince of Naples—Count Münster—The Duke of Buckingham and the Opposition—General Paskiewitch—The Tories and the Question of Reform—Affairs in France; Weakness of King Louis Philippe.

[On October 26 Parliament met, and on November 2 the Session was formally opened by the King in person. The King, who spoke of the Belgians as revolted subjects, had to deplore revolution abroad and disturbance at home. In the debate on the Address, Lord Grey, after adverting to the storm in the horizon and the approaching hurricane, urged the Government to take measures of precaution in time; and continued: 'The mode in which this must be done, my lords, is by securing the affections of your fellow-subjects, and—I will pronounce the word—by Parliamentary Reform.' The Duke of Wellington, in reply, uttered his celebrated declaration against Reform in Parliament, which almost immediately led to the overthrow of his Administration.]

To Earl Grey.

[*Nov. 9th*, 1830.]*

The King last night showed his Ministers more cordiality and confidence than ever. Further, the Duke of Wellington has told me that all would go off well; that he was sure of his position; that he would carry out all his intentions; that Reform could no more be carried through without him than the Catholic Question; that he would have nothing to do with it, and consequently that nothing would be done. In a word, he feels perfectly sure of his position.

Come and see me at one o'clock if you can. Tear up this note, but let me know that you have received it.

Tuesday, 10 *o'clock.*

[*Nov. 9th*, 1830.]†

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your note, and obeyed your orders respecting it. If anything could astonish me after what I have seen and heard within the last week, I should indeed be surprised at the blind presumption of this man; but we shall see. He may be right, but I suspect there is not another man, even amongst his colleagues, of the same opinion. Leopold has sent for me, and I am to be with him at half-past eleven. But I hope the conference will not be so long as to prevent my being with you at one.

Yours ever,

G.

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* Docketed by Lord Grey. Evidently written in London.

† Added in pencil by Princess Lieven.

Berkeley Square,
Nov. 12th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I was confined to the house all yesterday by a very severe cold, which prevented my calling on you, or going to the House of Lords, or to the Queen's party. I am better this morning, but still unable to go out. I must, therefore, submit to be another day without the pleasure of seeing you. I hear that the Ministers either feel or assume the appearance of greater confidence. They talk of a majority of 76 on the Reform Question; and I am told that some of the Tories and others are holding a language which looks like an inclination to vote with them. Nothing will surprise me less than such a result, particularly if the Court interferes actively; and in that case the division may be as they say. Personally, nothing would suit me better than this; but in as far as it leaves us with an Administration too weak to conduct the public business with advantage and effect, it is a bad thing both for this country and for Europe.

Yours most entirely,

GREY.

[In his speech from the throne William IV. had declared that he placed his interest in the hereditary revenues of the Crown unreservedly at the disposal of the House of Commons. In the debate on the Civil List, Sir H. Parnell expressed much dissatisfaction at the proposals of the Government, and suggested that all details of the new Civil List should be referred to a Select Committee. The discussion was adjourned till Monday, November 15. On that evening Ministers were defeated by twenty-nine votes. The next day the Duke resigned, and the King sent for Lord Grey.]

To Earl Grey.

Saturday [*Nov. 13th*, 1830].

MY DEAR LORD,

How are you to-day? Unless you have entirely got rid of your cold, I entreat you not to go out, although I should be the first sufferer from this. But write me a line as to your speculations on coming events. If, however, you may leave the house, tell me at what hour you would visit me, so that I may remain at home. I talked much with the Duke of Wellington last night at dinner. He is perfectly confident of his position, and reckons on a majority of over a hundred. On this subject, however, from another quarter, other and somewhat contradictory information has reached me. I will tell you about this when we meet.

Good-day, my dear lord; you have my earnest good wishes for success.

Berkeley Square,
Nov. 13th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for your kind note. I am very much better this morning, but I am afraid I shall not be permitted to go out. . . . I have learnt nothing that can make any alteration in my speculations on the present state of affairs. I hear, what you confirm, that the Ministers talk in a tone of greater confidence. The ground of it I cannot comprehend. Nobody can know anything certain as to the state of the House of Commons, except as to the numbers of the old and decided parties that are in opposition to each other. Our strength in this respect is not diminished, and

there seems to be, at least, as good a chance on our side as on that of the Ministers, of gaining a fair proportion of those who have not yet been pledged by any vote. Much will depend upon the debate, and a mistake on either side may have very decisive consequences. Upon the whole, I see no more reason to think that the Administration can go on than I did ten days ago. As to a majority of a hundred, it seems to me quite absurd to expect it.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Sunday [*Nov. 14th*, 1830].

Tell me how you are, my dear lord; I hope you are better. I am going to see my children this morning early, and shall be back in town at four o'clock. If you are allowed to go out I shall expect you then. . . . I dined again yesterday with the Ministers. I do not know what has diminished their hopes in the last twenty-four hours, but they were not so confident as the evening before. Not the Duke, but the others, I mean. Aberdeen already sees himself out of office. Lady Jersey says that she is packing up her clothes.

Good-morning and good-bye, my dear lord.

Sunday [*Nov. 14th*, 1830].*

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I look upon myself as *hors d'affaire*, though I feel very weak and low. I am afraid it will not be in

* Added in pencil by the Princess.

my power to call so late as four, but to-morrow at two I hope certainly to have that pleasure. . . . I see, as I told you yesterday, no reason for these fluctuations of opinion. To-morrow the Ministers would have had a severe trial on the motion for a Committee on the Civil List, which they declared their intention of opposing on Friday, but to which it now seems that they think of yielding. So here begins already the old game of avoiding defeats by concessions. With respect to the other question, all I know for certain is that we have 200 sure votes in town. This does not include any that may be expected from the Tories or from other doubtful quarters. So how a great majority (or almost any majority) is to be found on the side of the Government I know not. The subalterns have all along held a language of despair.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever yours,

G.

To Princess Lieven.

[*Monday night, Nov. 15th*, 1830.]*

Division in the House of Commons:

For the Ministers - -	204
Against - - - - - -	233
Majority against -	29

You desired me to send you anything *piquant*. What do you think of this?

Ever most entirely yours,

G.

* In pencil by the Princess.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday [*Nov. 16th*, 1830].

Thank you so much, my dear lord, for your note. What you say is much to the purpose; and, further, it would certainly be desirable, as also in good taste, to prevent victory being prematurely proclaimed. I only wish that everyone possessed your calm judgment and good sense, for this is what ensures success. I am very unwell this morning, and doubt that I can leave for Richmond before three o'clock. Could you possibly come to see me? I should be so glad. But pray do not attempt it if too difficult; and, above all, do not expose yourself to this downpour.

A thousand regards,

Nov. 16th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your advice is very good; and, as far as I am concerned, will be followed. Indeed, I see in the present state of things, for myself personally, cause rather for doubt and apprehension than for triumph. I know nothing more, but I think the Ministers must resign in the course of the day. I have had a bad night, and am not so well this morning; but if the day improves, I will call on you, if possible, between two and three. Do not expect me after three.

Ever yours,

G.

(PRIVATE.)

Tuesday evening [*Nov. 16th*, 1830].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received a letter from the King between three and four, requiring my attendance at St. James's. I went immediately, and have come away commissioned to form a new Administration. Nothing could be more gracious than the King's manner, or more satisfactory than everything he said to me. But even with this I feel appalled at the difficulties with which I am surrounded. This is only for yourself.

Yours most entirely,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday evening [*Nov. 16th*, 1830].

You can imagine how delighted I am, my dear lord. Honour paid to you is as dear to me as if it were paid to myself, and you have the most sincere good wishes of my affectionate friendship. The impression left on my mind by conversations with various persons, to-day, is that there is much to perplex you ahead. Write me word if I can hope to see you for a moment to-morrow, and at what hour, and I will arrange my departure for Richmond accordingly. If you should not be able to come, I should start about four o'clock. I will send to-morrow morning for your answer. Good-night, my dear lord; sleep well; husband your health and strength, and all will go well.

Sincerely yours,

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday, 17th [Nov., 1830].

MY DEAR LORD,

As you cannot fix anything positively for to-day, and as I have not seen my children for some time, I have decided to go to Richmond, sleep there, and return to-morrow morning early, when I shall call at your door to know if, and when, you can come to see me. So please let me find a line with your porter to-morrow. I am truly sorry not to see you to-day, for I have a thousand things to tell you. As an old friend, I venture to communicate the opinions I hear very generally expressed on two important points. First, that it is of positive necessity, in order to give the proper tone to your Administration, that you should yourself occupy the post of First Lord of the Treasury, it being a place always considered to belong to the Premier. I do not give you the many reasons which would prove the necessity for such a measure, because I feel sure you already know them well enough, but confine myself to telling you how much those interested in the future success of your Government hold this point to be essential.

The second point is the necessity of conciliating the Tories by concessions more or less important. There are some forty of them, who (as Piron once said of the *Académie*), have among them but the wit of four. Still, in making sure of these, you prevent them giving themselves to your adversaries, and this is worth taking into account. Once more, pray excuse my zeal, but I really could not help communicating to you what is so strong a conviction with me. I am

certain, were I your wife, I could not possibly feel more anxious and interested in all that may add to your renown. Heaven prosper your efforts, my dear lord. I can think of nothing else at present, but do try to let me see you to-morrow, and send me word in time that I may arrange my day accordingly.

Adieu. A thousand kind regards.

[*Nov. 17th*, 1830.]*

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your note was a real comfort to me amidst difficulties which are enough to drive one mad. But I am getting through them, and by the end of the week I hope we shall have a good Government fairly launched. I have been obliged to make up my mind to be at the head of the Treasury. On the other point there is much to be said, but of this when we meet. I will be with you at half-past two, or at latest at three.

Ever yours,

G.

Nov. 20th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

That you may not be kept at home unnecessarily, I write, in despair, to say that it is absolutely impossible for me to escape from my plagues, and to see you to-day. Not one minute of repose have I had since nine o'clock this morning, or can have till I go to the King at half-past five. All the principal offices are nearly settled, and we probably shall be installed on Monday. I think, in this case, nobody will have a

* In pencil by the Princess.

right to complain of delay, when it is considered what was to be done, and what has been done, within a week. If you are to be in town to-morrow, I hope certainly to be able to call.

God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

[Lord Grey's Administration, as ultimately constituted, was as follows:

Earl Grey	First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord Brougham . . .	Lord Chancellor.
Viscount Althorp . . .	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Viscount Melbourne . .	Home Secretary.
Viscount Palmerston . .	Foreign Secretary.
Marquis of Lansdowne . .	President of the Council.
Lord Durham . . .	Privy Seal.
Sir J. Graham . . .	Admiralty.
Lord Holland . . .	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord J. Russell . . .	Paymaster of the Forces.
The Duke of Richmond (originally a Tory) . . .	Post Office.
Lord Wellesley (brother of the Duke of Wellington) . .	Lord Steward.]

Sunday, [Nov.] 21st, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I think I may say *certainly* that I will be with you at four, or as soon after as possible. I am indeed already sick of my *métier* of *Premier Ministre,* and should be too happy to be able to renew my comfortable visits, which were my greatest pleasure.

Ever yours,

G.

[On November 4 a Conference of the five Great Powers assembled in London, at the invitation of the King of Holland, and declared an armistice should immediately be concluded between Belgium and Holland, and that the Dutch troops should be withdrawn from Belgium. On November 10 the National Congress opened at Brussels, and on the 18th the independence of Belgium was formally proclaimed by its authority.]

Berkeley Square,
Nov. 28th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am obliged to go to the Foreign Office, and am more vexed than I can express at not having it in my power to call on you this morning.

Yours ever,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Sunday, 3 o'clock [*Nov. 28th*, 1830].

I am still more disappointed than you, my dear lord, at not seeing you to-day. The more so because you give me no hope for to-morrow. I leave this at your door on my way to Richmond; I was only waiting on in town to see you. I am very glad to learn that you are going to do business at the Foreign Office, because I think that some good will result of this for Europe. Indeed, as I told you yesterday, you hold peace or war in your hands. But I am not uneasy; you will keep us at peace. By the by, I have been making inquiries about the Conferences. The Duke of Wellington was personally present at those only where new or important points were to be discussed. Now, since at the present Conference the only business, I hope, will be to confirm the armistice, it will probably not be necessary for you to attend. Far better not to waste your strength without good

reason; rather reserve it for important occasions. If the time that you had thought of devoting to that can be given to me, it would, I think, be well employed. Should this egotistical scheme appear to you feasible, you will perhaps propose an hour, otherwise I shall consider the arrangement for Tuesday to hold good, and shall expect you as it was agreed.

Adieu, and a thousand kind regards.

Downing Street,
Dec. 7th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Here I am at half-past six, not having been able to get away for a moment. I am in absolute despair at not seeing you. I will try, however, to-morrow after the levée; but do not wait for me. I shall, however, have the pleasure of meeting you at Claremont, where I hear you are to be on Saturday and Sunday. I, unfortunately, cannot go till Sunday. I hope Prince Lieven will write strongly to Holland about this blockade.* The conduct of the Dutch Government in this instance is really quite unjustifiable.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Thursday, Dec. 9th [1830].†

I do not complain, my dear lord, though I may feel vexed. I only sent you a few lines yesterday,

* Of the Scheldt.

† Docketed by Lord Grey, in error, '*July 9th*, 1831.'

thinking I should see you. As I do not know now when that may be, I must answer in writing what you said in your note of the day before yesterday. My husband wrote a letter to our Minister at the Hague, expressing reprobation of the conduct of the King of the Netherlands, and exhorting him to act in conformity with the decision of the Conference. He showed this despatch to Lord Palmerston, who, I hope, will have communicated the matter to you. I have a thousand things to say to you; but one cannot write to a person in the next street as if that person were at Howick. Besides, you would not answer quite in the same way. I do not regret what the Duke of Wellington said in the House of Lords yesterday, though, in his own interest, it was very ill-advised. Have you written your name with the Duke of Cumberland? Can you dine with us on the 18th? Answer me this soon, for I want to send out my invitations.

Good-bye, my dear lord. What a bad habit we are getting into—never meeting!

Always yours,

Thursday [*Dec. 9th*, 1830].*

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I cannot express all the pleasure I feel from the kindness of your note, but it is a poor substitute for that of seeing you. Lord Palmerston told me he had seen Prince Lieven's letter, and that it was just what he wished. I need not say how much I rejoiced

* This letter is docketed in pencil by the Princess, '*Feb. 5th*, 1831.' This is a mistake, as it is evidently in answer to one from her dated *Thursday, Dec.* 9, [1830].

at hearing this; and if we can only go on together as we do at present, the peace of Europe will be preserved.

The Duke of Wellington was guilty yesterday of the folly of showing his teeth when he could not bite. Peel did the same thing the day before in the House of Commons; but the Duke's was the greater imprudence of the two, as it will increase his unpopularity. I have not yet written my name with the Duke of Cumberland, but will to-day if possible, or to-morrow.

I shall be very happy to dine with you on the 18th.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY.

[The Polish insurrection broke out November 29, 1830, when the residence of the Grand-Duke Constantine was attacked and several of his officers killed. The Viceroy made no attempt to put down the rebellion, the citizens of Warsaw rose, and the Grand-Duke retired over the frontier. The Provisional Government which was then formed despatched envoys to the Czar to make terms. These were refused. The Emperor Nicholas demanded immediate submission, and ordered General Diebitsch to advance with an army into Poland.]

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday, 28th [Dec., 1830].

I am just starting, my dear lord, and must write you one line, as Friday seems so far off. My Emperor has decided as I supposed he would, and has sent troops into Poland. Indeed, he could not do otherwise. However, there seems to me so little real enthusiasm in this insurrection, that I still think it possible that the Poles will submit, and order be

re-established without recourse to arms. I am sure I desire it with all my heart, both for the Poles and for us, for a civil war is a horrible alternative. We have heard nothing from Petersburg about all this.

Are you not half-dead with the cold? I hear that the Duke of Wellington has been ill at Winchester, and is not going to Woburn. Is this true? It seems so stupid writing to you with only a street's length between us, that I leave off here. I have really nothing to say, though if we were talking together there would be no such excuse made. I shall expect you with much impatience on Friday.

Good-bye; a thousand kind wishes.

Downing Street,
Dec. 29th, 1830.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your note on my return yesterday from Brighton. My excursion there was as pleasant as great kindness both from the King and Queen could make it. I am quite fallen in love with the latter. We are going on very well as to all domestic concerns, and the vigour and resolution shown by Lord Anglesey * will, I hope, soon teach, if they have not already taught, Mr. O'Connell, that he has to deal with a Government which will not shrink from its duty.

Of foreign news I have little to add to what you will read in the papers and hear from other sources. Flahault writes me word that everything is going on well; but I shall not feel satisfied till I see what happens upon a change of the Ministry—*some* change being thought inevitable. Talleyrand says Lafayette

* The new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

will resume his command of the National Guard. One expression in your letter gave me great pleasure, but it would have been greater if you had added, to your expectation of the submission of the Poles, a hope that the Emperor might accept it. I do not pretend to say that there can be any doubt that the power of Russia is equal to the entire and absolute subjugation of Poland. But think of the horrors of a war of extermination, for such it will be, of the sympathy which a people fighting for liberty and independence will not fail to meet with in every country in Europe, and of the possible advantage which may be taken of it to strike a blow at your power. These, believe me, are not imaginary dangers, and I earnestly hope that some means may be found of appeasing the storm which appears to me to be so threatening. I am sorry to hear that your Emperor used some very offensive language, on hearing the first news of the insurrection, to the French Minister.

I hope to see you on Friday; if anything should happen to detain me in town, (and I promise you it will not be a little thing that will do so), you shall hear from me again to-morrow. What a happiness it will be to spend two or three days comfortably with you in the country!

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Dec. 30th, 1830.

A thousand thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of yesterday. I think as you do about the

Emperor's remark to the French Chargé d'Affaires, and I regret it. You see by this that I am impartial, but it is just for this reason, that, differing from you, I can see no solution for the Polish difficulty, except a recourse to arms. Should the Poles at once submit, without doubt the Emperor would accept their submission. He would then not have recourse to martial law, but the guilty must be punished, and in all countries the civil law takes cognisance of murder and pillage. If, however, the Poles persist in their rebellion, if the nation takes up arms against Russia, you must admit that the only course open to the Emperor in that case is armed force. I am sure your sense of justice must agree to the truth of this. We will talk it all over to-morrow. I am delighted with Lord Anglesey's proclamation. Courage and promptitude are what are required in Ireland as well as in Poland; and force to back them, too, if necessary.

I am looking forward with immense pleasure to to-morrow, the day after, and Sunday; but how short the time will be! Lady Cowper is delighted at the prospect of having you in her house.

Good-bye and a thousand regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Downing Street,
Jan. 5th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

It will not be in my power to call on you to-day, and I write that you may not wait for me. I have been very much vexed by receiving a letter stating that a letter from you had been quoted at Berlin, in which you said that I 'wished for the

immediate suppression of the Polish insurrection.' I certainly expressed my regret at its having taken place at a moment when the peace of Europe was already threatened by so many dangers, and I acknowledged that it was to be expected that the Emperor should exert all his power to suppress it. But whatever I said I did it in the confidence that my name should not be cited, and you may easily conceive the inconvenience to which such occurrences may expose me. Really, if I have not a complete assurance that my name is not to be mentioned, my mouth must be completely shut as to everything but the mere gossip of the day. I remember your telling me that you had written to Nesselrode, and I did not object to what I understood you to have said; but even to him I should wish you to say nothing that you hear from me in our private communications; in short, that nothing should be added to what the Prince may hear from me or Lord Palmerston. It was to somebody at Berlin your letter was said to be written. I am not well to-day, and doubt whether I shall be able to go to Madame de Dino's to-night. But I will if I can.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Hanover Square,
Jan. 6th, 1831.

Indeed, my dear lord, nothing could have grieved me more than to find that I could possibly have given you annoyance; and, above all, to think that you could suppose me capable of betraying any

confidence you had placed in me. But I venture to observe that you have taken up much too warmly an incident very simple in itself, and really, as far as it concerns you, harmless. I well remember, when forwarding to our Minister in Berlin a despatch for the Empress, in my letter to him (which was in answer to one I had lately received describing the events at Warsaw), I stated that the English Government regretted this insurrection, and most loyally desired that we should be able speedily to put it down. If this was imprudent on my part, at least my intention was of the best. I cannot conceive that one of two Governments on friendly terms of alliance should wish well of what endangers the tranquillity of the other. (The Citizen King even, in his answer to the Corps Diplomatique, on New Year's Day, expressed his earnest desire for the continuance of peace throughout the States of Europe.) Now for making a confidant of our Minister, by repeating some of your observations to me, when, at the same time, I never mentioned your name—I cannot, indeed, consider myself to have been guilty of indiscretion. What I communicated would certainly never have gone beyond the diplomatic circle, and would there have served to increase rather than diminish confidence in you; for you are supposed to be the apostle of revolution, and would you not wish to negative such an idea? Do you consider it so little essential to your interests that goodwill and good faith should be felt towards you and your Government, rather than the mistrust and hatred which antagonistic doctrines must necessarily inspire? What you said to me you would probably not have said in the House, and on this head I thoroughly understand the caution

which your position demands. But remember, it was not to any English person that I repeated your words. In any case, why regret that the Cabinets of Europe should have faith in your goodwill rather than in the contrary? In truth I am treating this incident more seriously than it really merits. But you must forgive me, my dear lord. First, I wished to prove to you that it was not worth being so much annoyed about; now I would wish to convince you that I accept repentantly and with resignation your censure. Be assured, on my word of honour, that never again will I repeat or write, except with your consent, the smallest thing you may say to me. Therefore pray continue to believe in my discretion as well as in my friendship.

Do come to Madame de Dino's, for I am really only going there to meet you. Adieu.

To Earl Grey.

Friday [Jan. 14th, 1831].

Thanks, my dear lord, for your little note, but I regret a thousand times you cannot come to see me. I am somewhat better to-day. My husband, however, is less well, and we are a ridiculous household. To divert myself, I am going to dine with Ludolf,* where I shall probably catch cold. What a pity you refused to go there! You see I always regret your absence. I look forward to see you to-morrow. If before then any news comes that is interesting, pray send it me.

Ever yours,

* Neapolitan Minister in London.

Sunday [*Jan. 16th*, 1831].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I called soon after five, and was in despair at hearing that you continued so ill. . . . There are despatches to-day from Brussels. I do not think the accounts so favourable to the Prince of Orange as they were.* Talleyrand, whom I saw at Holland's, says that Brisson thinks very ill of his chance. At all events, the thing seems likely to go into length, which is almost equivalent to failure. Of course you have accounts from Petersburg. From what I have seen, I am led to conclude that you will not begin to act before the beginning of March.

Our accounts from Ireland are more satisfactory. Lord Anglesey had a complete triumph at the theatre.

God bless you, and get well as soon as you can; and if you are well enough, pray let me have a line to-morrow morning.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Monday, 17th [*Jan.*, 1831].

Things are much the same with me, my dear lord: I am still confined to my bed, and suffering considerably. . . .

I was vexed at the news you sent me yesterday, but I feel so little respect for the Congress at Brussels, that opinions there expressed with regard to the Prince

* The question under discussion was whether he should be elected King of the Belgians. It was ultimately declared by the National Congress that the House of Orange had forfeited all claim to Belgium.

of Orange do not in the least discourage me. We have no despatches from Petersburg, but the newspapers from there of January 1 tell us that Diebitsch had left to join the army, which would lead one to suppose that operations were about to commence.

I congratulate you on the man you have in Lord Anglesey; he knows how to command and how to make himself obeyed. This is the only way things can be well done. Courage and a lofty bearing are the sources of all strength. . . .

I am still very weak. Adieu. A thousand kind regards. Is there any news to-day?

Downing Street,
Jan. 17*th*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I cannot bear the continuance of this vexatious illness, and am inclined to abuse your physicians. . . .

I had a long visit from Talleyrand, who read me a despatch from Sebastiani,* in a very altered, and not a very pleasant, tone. It seems that measures taken in favour of the Prince of Orange have created great dissatisfaction. He says that they can only tend to a civil war, and this cannot be permitted by France '*ses portes.*' He quotes an account of an interview between Marshal Maison† and Metternich, in which the latter stated that it was impossible to re-establish the Prince of Orange. Lord Granville's despatches of the 14th give an account, corresponding with the tone of the despatch, of two conversations with Sebastiani. He repeats the conversation with Metternich, with

* Minister of Foreign Affairs in France.
† French Ambassador at Vienna.

this difference, that Lord Granville, had understood Sebastiani to say that Metternich had *protested* against all attempts in favour of the Prince of Orange.

This I think is impossible, if anything is so, for your old friend, '*l'homme le plus franc et le plus loyal.*'

The Emperor declared that he gave the Poles till the end of February, and if they did not then submit he would march on Warsaw. *C'est sûr.*

'Get well then, for I am in despair at not seeing you.'

In extreme haste,

Yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday morning [*Jan.* 18*th*, 1831].

MY DEAR LORD,

I am really better, and shall not die this time, I think. However, I feel too weak to see you to-day. If you have a moment to-morrow to give me, I shall be delighted, and could you come before five o'clock? What you wrote to me yesterday confirms all my old suspicions with regard to France. She would *not* wish to see the affairs of Belgium settled. She would like matters to drag on until she finds herself in a position to take Belgium as her prey. And all the apparent *innocence* of M. de Talleyrand has no other end in view but to obtain Belgium as a bequest to France. This will be his last political will and testament. He will restore what he caused her once to lose, and will thus end his career at peace with his compatriots, and, to the eyes of Europe, in the odour of sanctity. For we all believe him to be *un très honnête*

homme. As to *l'homme le plus franc et le plus loyal,* I quite agree with you. I believe him capable of anything. Meanwhile the confusion is considerable. However, you know you have two honest men on your side—my Emperor, and the King of Prussia. Only be strong in will and purpose, and all will be well. What rascals these Belgians are!

Adieu, my dear lord. How tiresome to have to write instead of talking! and my poor head is so weak that even these few lines have exhausted me. How delighted I shall be to see you again! I had quite made up my mind to have sent once more to see you, had I felt myself really going to die.

Adieu.

Jan. 18th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Thank God you are something better! but why not well? If you have any regard for me, you will not delay your recovery. Don't talk about dying, even in joke; but let me consider what you said on that subject, not as arising from any real apprehension, but only as a proof of your desire to see me. I wish you knew the pleasure I experience in my belief that this desire is sincere.

The conduct of Talleyrand and his employers may be forced upon them by their fear of the Republican party; or it may be dictated by the views which you suspect. Either motive would produce a similar result. If you and Prussia and Austria were not all at this moment *les mains liées,* we might soon settle the business. Heytesbury says that Diebitsch is gone to

take the command of the army, but that he cannot have more than 80,000 men disposable before the end of February or the beginning of March.

If the Poles, therefore, are in force, it will be necessary to wait for a forward movement till that time. Walewski* was at Talleyrand's last night, but I was not introduced to him.

I will call to-morrow before five, if possible; if not, you shall hear from me.

God bless you.

G.

Jan. 21st, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

All my hopes of getting away from hence in time to return for the Cabinet are at an end; but, at least, let me know that you continue to improve. This must be my comfort for not seeing you. I am afraid we have been too sanguine in our hopes from the strength of the party of the Prince of Orange. If its power is not immediately and decisively shown, it will be impossible to continue to support a cause which in that case will only keep alive suspicions and discontent, excite the jealousy of France, and afford to Lafayette's party the means of exciting the public against the Government. Such a state of things must be hourly exposed to the danger of a civil war, and if the matter cannot be promptly settled by what we all agree in thinking the best arrangement, we must look about for some other which may afford a hope of bringing these discussions to an end.

* Count Walewski (afterwards, under Napoleon III., French Ambassador in London) and Marquis Wielopolski had come to England as Envoys from Prince Czartoryski and the Polish Provisional Government.

I think a very useful and important step with this view was taken yesterday, and I hope it may have the additional advantage of facilitating the choice of a new Sovereign. But whether it be the Prince of Orange or another, an early choice is what we must all anxiously desire.

I write this amidst constant interruptions, and am afraid what I have written may not be very intelligible.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Friday [21*st Jan.* 1831].

Many grateful thanks, my dear lord, for your note. I am getting on, but slowly; still, I hope to be able to dine with you to-morrow.

I am sorry to see you take so unfavourable a view of the Prince of Orange's chances of success. I cannot agree with you, and I suspect that France is interfering, and exerting influence in this matter. In the name of wonder, why should all the other Powers submit to her pleasure?

What took place yesterday was well enough in its way, and if carried out would settle the question in regard to the Prince of Orange. Indeed, if only such were your good pleasure, I have little doubt of the business being concluded in this way. *Apropos* of this, I must tell you how happy the amiable little note you wrote this morning to the poor Prince has made him.* He came and showed it me in confidence,

* The Prince of Orange had come over to London to attend the Conference there sitting to settle the Belgian Question.

knowing how it would please me. He was both delighted and flattered by it. From this time forth all his hope and confidence is centred in you; and he candidly owned to me that he was certain the Duke of Wellington would never have done for him the half of what you have already achieved. You have his most earnest prayers for your continuance at the head of affairs.

I am delighted to hear of O'Connell's arrest.* You know how I adore vigorous measures. I am quite proud of the honour that will accrue to you from this.

Good-bye, my dear lord, till to-morrow; I shall see you at all events at the dinner-hour. I shall take care to come in good time, as you desire.

I see that the *Times* thinks that by the Treaty of Vienna you are bound to show a paternal solicitude for the Polish Constitution. Fortunately, the Treaty of Vienna says not a word on this subject. This treaty gave Poland to the Emperor, and the Emperor gave the Constitution to Poland. Such is an exact statement of the case; but you know it all as well as I do.

Good-bye, again. I never know when to end in writing to you.

Always faithfully yours,

Saturday [*Jan.* 22, 1831].†

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A Cabinet at four deprives me of all hope of seeing you to-day. How much preferable the life of a dog is to that of a Minister!

* He had been arrested in Ireland, on a charge of conspiracy to defeat the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation.

† Added in pencil by the Princess, who puts the '20*th*' by mistake, doubtless, for the 22*nd*.

I have seen the Prince of Orange this morning, who showed me two letters from the Netherlands, both (and they were of opposite parties) confirming Lord Ponsonby's* accounts, and demanding the very thing that has been done by the Prince.

I hear privately, but indirectly, that the Belgic deputies intend to return† on the 20th, with an expectation that hostilities will be renewed immediately after their arrival at Brussels.

We have no news—at least, I have heard of none.

Ever yours,

GREY.

Downing Street,
Jan. 23rd, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am most anxious to hear that you have not suffered by coming here yesterday, or, what was much more dangerous, and an act of absolute insanity, by going out in an open carriage. I have told you that you mismanage yourself dreadfully, though I never met with such a proof of it before.

I intended to have written sooner, but I was prevented before two, and the Cabinet has lasted till this moment—as long, almost, as a Conference, and on a subject not less difficult—and, I have the satisfaction of adding, with a most harmonious and satisfactory result. We have despatches to day of the 20th, from Brussels, adding little to what we before knew, except that on the 20th no measures whatever had been taken by the King for opening the Scheldt.

* Lord Ponsonby had been sent (December, 1830) on a special mission to the Provisional Government at Brussels.

† To the National Congress.

I cannot believe that you would go to Richmond in such weather, and shall, therefore, hope for an immediate answer that will relieve my anxiety. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Monday [*24th Jan.*, 1831].

I have come to town for some hours only, my dear lord, and I send you these few lines in consequence.

The King made a speech in honour of the Duke of Wellington at dinner. His Majesty began by saying that as he had never been a party man, no one could interpret the toast he was about to give as having a political signification, but only as a tribute justly due to a man, the most celebrated and the most powerful of his time—or of his country, I forget which. Perhaps you have already heard all this, but in any case I think it worth while to write it to you, for my version comes straight from the Duke. . . .

I hear that Flahault has arrived. I esteem the man, but I much distrust the intentions of the Government he represents. Pray do not forget that every Frenchman of the present day is a born lover of revolutions, and that Flahault, particularly, has a very tender corner in his heart for Poland. Think of what I say when he speaks to you on this subject, and pray, my dear lord, keep to the course which your sense of equity has dictated to you.

Be sure, also, that in Ireland you will benefit by

the success the Emperor meets with in Poland; any other policy than this will upset and revolutionize the whole of Europe.

Monday, Jan. 24th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

. . . I saw Flahault last night, but not alone, and had no private conversation with him. Of course he is not come merely for amusement, but I am satisfied his mission, whatever it may be, has only Belgium for its object.

You will have heard, of course, that the Scheldt is opened? This is a great difficulty removed. Now, if an immediate and decisive movement is not made in favour of the Prince of Orange (of the success of which the delay makes me doubt more and more), somebody else must be found; and in that case I am very much inclined to say, Choose for yourselves, provided your choice is neither French nor English. I am not sure that I should describe the Duke of Leuchtenberg as the former.*

I wish the Polish business could be settled. If it is protracted, I foresee great difficulties; and there is a case against you on the Treaty of Vienna. Could it not be so managed that a submission should be made, upon an assurance that this treaty, both as to the limits and Constitution of the kingdom of Poland, should be fulfilled? If you look at the *Times*, you will be able to judge of the course public opinion here is

* Duke Augustus of Leuchtenberg, who afterwards married Donna Maria of Portugal. He was son of Eugène Beauharnais, and on his mother's side was related to the Bavarian Royal Family.

likely to take if the business is protracted, and of the difficulties which may ensue.

Our accounts to-day put me quite at my ease about Ireland.

God bless you. . . .

Ever yours,

G.

Jan. 26th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am in despair at not seeing you, and with so little prospect of having that happiness. On Friday I have an engagement at home, which I cannot put off; on Saturday I dine at the Mansion House; and on Sunday I am to go to the King with my plan of Reform, which I am happy to tell you I am now enabled to propose to him with the full concurrence of all my colleagues. From this you will see that I cannot accept Prince Leopold's invitation—when am I to see you, then?

I was so constantly persecuted yesterday that I had not a moment to write even a line before I went to the Cabinet, and afterwards it was too late. Flahault's mission is entirely pacific, and I hope we shall at last get things settled, though I do not yet see the means of agreeing upon a Sovereign; that is, of obtaining your consent, so as to prevent the increasing danger of delay. The Prince of Orange, I am afraid, is nearly hopeless. It was one of those things that must succeed at once or not at all; and I see no symptom of the power, and still less of the vigour, in his party which the case required. And then comes the King's declaration to the States-General, which

seems to me to destroy any chance that might have existed. Is the proclamation of the Poles authentic ?* I am interrupted, and must conclude. God bless you.

Yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday, 9 *o'clock* [*Jan. 26th*, 1831].

When my husband returned home from the Conference, my dear lord, I asked him for some details of what Pozzo had written to him from Paris, and about which matter I had been speaking to you. He gave me a copy of the despatch, and authorized me to send it to you. Will you kindly return it as soon as you have read it; you can keep it until to-morrow morning.

So once again good-evening, and kindest remembrances.

Downing Street,
Jan. 27th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I return the enclosed despatch with many thanks to Prince Lieven for having been so good as to communicate it to me. The representation made by your Minister at Paris, of the disposition and language of Sebastiani, entirely corresponds with the accounts we have received from Lord Granville, and with the language held by Flahault here. I see in it strong proofs of the fear of the French Government of a war,

* The manifesto of the Polish nation to Europe, inserted in the *Polish Courier* of January 3 without signatures. It was afterwards confirmed by the Diet.

consequently of their desire to preserve peace; but, at the same time, of a wish to gain something which may satisfy the vanity of the French people, and establish their own credit. It is in this view that I regard the proposition for a restoration of their ancient frontier. The answer already given to that proposition is decisive, and cannot be departed from. But if anything could be done without opening the door to greater encroachments, to give strength and security to the present Government (which, both from inclination and interest, I believe to be sincerely pacific), all Europe would reap the benefit of it. The only thing in the despatch which furnishes any ground for apprehending war, beyond what results from the uncertainty and danger of delaying the choice of a Belgic Sovereign, is in the last paragraph of Pozzo's letter, which states Sebastiani to have said that he abandoned all hope of peace. Nothing of that sort has been repeated to us.

You will not suspect me of any inclination to interfere improperly in the affairs of another country, and particularly of yours. In looking back at the whole history of the events which have led to the destruction of the independence and to the partition of Poland, whatever one may feel for that unhappy people, as a Government we can only look at what has now happened as a revolt of subjects against a Sovereign, with whose right of enforcing submission it is not for us to interfere. On this principle I have acted, and have declined any communication with persons who might be considered as coming here in the character of deputies from the insurgents.* But it

* Referring to Count Walewski's mission.

is impossible not to look forward to the consequences of the present state of affairs; and I cannot help repeating, as a sincere friend to Russia and to the peace of Europe, my anxious wish that means should be found of terminating these unhappy occurrences in such a manner as to prevent the excitement of the general feeling of Europe against you. I state this only as a wish, an anxious wish, and not as claiming the slightest right to suggest, except in the tone of the most friendly advice, anything that might be inconsistent with the respect which I owe to the character and independence of a friendly Power. Above all, let me earnestly entreat you to suggest in time, how dangerous it might be, in the event of a prompt repression of the insurrection in Poland, to incorporate that kingdom with Russia. This would be inconsistent with the Treaty of Vienna. An apprehension of such an intention had, even in the time of Castlereagh, very nearly produced a war; and if such an attempt should be made, you would give a pretence to France, and I fear to more than France, to declare directly against you. There is only one other consideration that I would add in support of what I have already said—the danger of a protracted contest. This you think improbable, but it is not impossible. If this should happen, can you doubt that the sympathies of all Europe would be as strongly excited as in the case of Greece, or that there would be found a very strong and general disposition to act upon the precedent which you have set there?

You may not, perhaps, be pleased with the sentiments which I have ventured to express. I hardly know myself how I have been led to state them. But

you cannot doubt these, proceeding from a person whose feelings, both personal and public, are entirely on the side of the most friendly union between your Government and ours. If possible, I will see you at five or soon after.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY.

P.S.—Most excellent accounts from Ireland. A complete reaction has taken place against O'Connell; he is deserted, or, rather, opposed, by everybody of consequence or character in the country, and betrays the strongest symptoms of fear of the consequences of his own conduct.

To Earl Grey.

Friday, 28th [Jan., 1831].

I will not leave London, my dear lord, without sending you a word of good-bye. I also wish to add a few words on the subject you questioned me upon yesterday, viz.: as to whether I had been annoyed at what you had written in the morning to me about Poland, though I think you must have seen how little this was the case. Indeed, I only bear in mind your kind intention, and will not call in question the subject-matter. Still, I would entreat you, my dear lord, not to go beyond what you have written to me; do not say as much to others, for all the world is not as good-humoured as I am. Have patience for awhile, and wait with confidence for the solution of this difficulty. Be assured that my Emperor will only do what is wise and just.

How vexed I am at being so long without seeing

you! I shall be so anxious for good news of your visit to Brighton.

Good-bye, then, and a thousand affectionate regards.

[*Sunday*] *Jan.* 30*th*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I was prevented writing to you yesterday, as I had intended, having been constantly occupied till the very moment when I was obliged to go to the Lord Mayor's dinner. But I did not think of you the less, and I hope, at least, that you will not have imputed to me either neglect or forgetfulness. Both are quite impossible with respect to you.

We have no news beyond what Prince Lieven will have taken to you from the last Conference.

We still hear of the Orange party, but it does nothing, and does not advance a step. This, therefore, may be put out of your calculations, and the best thing now to be done—the neutrality* being now established, which creates the best barrier that existing circumstances afford against France, and unites the other four Powers against her, if she passes it—is to take any King the Belgians will choose, who can be accepted without dishonour.

I am just setting out for Brighton. I will write to you from thence, and what I shall have to communicate will probably be important as to our internal interests.

God bless you, dearest Princess. Don't forget me, and believe me ever,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

* Of Belgium, as declared in Protocol No. 11 of the Conference, dated January 20, 1831.

Brighton,
Jan. 31*st*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

My journey to this place has turned out to admiration!

The King has had our plan of Reform fully explained to him, and he understands it perfectly. The result is that we can now go with it to Parliament with the full concurrence both of the King and the Cabinet. The kindness and the confidence with which he has treated me impose on me a debt of gratitude which I can never repay.

The accounts from Belgium, which have followed me here, do not please me. They speak of some plan on the part of the Orangeists, which has been communicated by Baron Krüdener to Prince Lieven. I wish any attempt, which this information seems to give reason for suspecting, may not lead us into a serious difficulty. But it is in vain to speculate, when the next despatches may very probably alter all the grounds on which we could form any reasonable conjecture.

I return to town to-morrow, but God knows when I shall see you. For even in these two days I fear there will be a terrible accumulation of business to be disposed of, and then comes the House of Lords every day at 5 o'clock, which curtails my time sadly. But see you I must, somehow or other. I feel as if I never could thank you enough for your last note; you would not grudge any expression of kindness, if you could only know how well it is bestowed.

I have been walking all over Kemp Town—this, and, indeed, the greatest part of Brighton, is an entirely

new creation since I was here in 1797. Shall we make a party to pass part of the summer here, if it is permitted me to get away even to this distance?

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Feb. 1st, 1831.

Your letter from Brighton, my dear lord, delights me. Your success there ensures your success in Parliament, and, thank God, we shall now see your measure grandly carrying all before it. After that, you are safe for all time. Most important for us will this be. By *us*, I here mean the interests of Europe; since for myself it will be the contrary of advantageous: I shall see nothing of you. Well, I must console myself for private vexation in thinking of the public good.

The moment is come, my dear lord, for showing great firmness with regard to France. News from Paris declares that the whole of France supports the nomination of the Duc de Nemours.* In other words, the French Government has made dupes of us all to bring about this end. But you will never permit this. Belgium under the Duc de Nemours is Belgium under France. Europe cannot allow it, and in this circumstance I feel sure that you will show the firmness required of the Prime Minister of a great country. It is necessary for your reputation abroad; it is still more

* The National Congress at Brussels, after drawing up a Constitution, had offered the crown to the Duc de Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe.

necessary for your reputation at home. What! Belgium under the Duc de Nemours? This is truly a strange result to crown all the exertions you have made for that country. Indeed, there is no time to be lost, my dear lord. Only let it be made known at Paris that you will not recognise his nomination, and the French Government will certainly not dare to accept it for the Prince, even should the matter have been already settled at Brussels.

How much I desire to see you! but how can a meeting be managed?

Once again a thousand thanks for your good and interesting letter from Brighton. . . .

Tuesday [*Feb.* 1*st*, 1831].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I was at the Cabinet from two till six. There consequently was no time to call on you, even if I had not been quite worn out with vexation and fatigue.

Certainly we will not acknowledge the Duc de Nemours. But there will be no difficulty on that question, as I am quite certain that the French Government will refuse. We must, then, look out for a new choice, and finish as soon as we can, as this state of things cannot last without producing a war.

The attempt at Ghent shows how little the Orange party were capable of any effective exertion, and it is very unlucky that we ever entertained that hope.

I am in despair at not seeing you. To-morrow I have no chance, as there is a Cabinet at two, and the House of Lords at five. I do not think the Duke of

Wellington will put any questions; but if he does he will not get much from me.

If you could but know how much I am tormented, and how much I long to return to my former ease and independence! But I owe everything to the King, whose kindness and confidence increase every day, and I will not shrink from my duty. God bless you, dearest Princess.

I have read Pozzo's despatch to Prince Lieven. It exactly corresponds with the accounts from Lord Granville, and I repeat my confidence in the result being in conformity with what Sebastiani has so distinctly said to both of them.* Once more God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

Downing Street,
Feb. 4th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I must write, though I have nothing to say, in the hopes of receiving a little kind word in answer, which will be some trifling compensation for not seeing you. From Belgium we have nothing that alters the situation of affairs in that country materially. I have a confident expectation that the French Government will not consent to the Duc de Nemours. Leuchtenberg we must all object to, and these two being put aside, I hope a third candidate may be found who may afford a chance of a settlement; and with respect to this we ought not to be very difficult; for an early

* Namely, that the crown, if offered to the Duc de Nemours, would not be accepted.

termination of this business becomes more and more necessary.

I am appointed to be with the Duchess of Kent to-morrow at half-past two, but as I am to receive a deputation of merchants here at two, I probably shall be later than the time appointed. If I can get there at three, calculating at least half an hour for my interview and for returning, I hope I may be able to call on you before four, or, at any rate, soon after that hour. I have accepted Leopold's invitation for Saturday and Sunday in the next week. The appearance of both Houses last night was very favourable.

God bless you, ever dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

9 o'clock, Feb. 4th, 1831.

They brought me your note, my dear lord, just as I was sitting down to table, so that I could not answer it sooner. A thousand thanks for the kind thought, and your hopes of coming to-morrow. Possibly I may have something *piquant* to tell you. Meanwhile, I have seen someone to-day who has had a conversation with the Duke of Wellington, whom he reports as somewhat soured, and much inclined to put you to the question on Belgian affairs. He and Lord Aberdeen had a long consultation together this morning. My husband will give you information to-morrow (derived from a despatch received from Pozzo), which goes to prove that the only thing that keeps the warlike proclivities of France within bounds is her fear of

England. This sentiment would appear to pervade all classes on the other side of the Channel, in spite of the fact that they hardly believe England to be in a condition to make a move just now. God be thanked!—in this they are greatly mistaken.

Good-bye, my dear lord. I have lost all patience during the two long days which have gone by without our meeting, and am eagerly looking forward to to-morrow.

A thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Monday, Feb. 7th, 1831.

Thanks for your letter of yesterday evening,* my dear lord. Just after receiving it, the news reached me of the refusal by France of the Belgian crown for the Duc de Nemours. Nothing, for the moment, can be more prudent than is such conduct on their part; but we must be very good-natured or very stupid, if we are taken in by this appearance of generosity. Fear of war alone has inspired this refusal, and you now reap the reward of your firmness in dealing with the French Government as you have done. I hope, however, that you will be careful not to exhibit too much satisfaction, for this would betray your secret; that is to say, France would then discover *your* fear of going to war, and this would give her an advantage over you.

The proceedings of France must be more strictly scanned than ever. The moment is not opportune for her to take the initiative, and your energy has shown

* Missing.

her that, were she to declare war just now, she would find England first among the ranks of her opponents. This she must avoid at all costs. Flattery, therefore, intrigue, and every other art will be made use of to compass her ends, and, above all, high-flown sentiment. But the veil is thin, and surely you will see through it. Otherwise, your enemies at home would be the first to reap their advantage from what will happen. By the way, I make use of my privilege as your friend, to repeat to you what has reached me from the opposite camp. They comment much on the fact of Flahault being night and morning at your elbow, and express surprise that the agent of the French Government should be the individual on terms of the greatest intimacy with you. Do not despise this warning; it reaches me on good authority.

I am sorry the attempt on Ghent failed, but it does not prove to me that the Orange party may not yet have power in other parts of the country. As regards the Prince of Naples,* he surely is out of the question. Do you not see, my dear lord, that in setting him on the throne you are giving Belgium to France almost as much as would have been the case with the Duc de Nemours? The whole world would take it in this light. In no way could it be to your advantage. The trick is really too transparent.

I go to-morrow to Brighton for two days. I do not want to go, but it seems to me that I ought to present myself at Court there; and if I do not take my opportunity now, I shall certainly not have another

* One of the candidates for the Belgian crown. The Prince of Naples was a nephew of Louis Philippe, whose Queen, Marie Amélie, was a daughter of Ferdinand I. of the Two Sicilies.

chance before the King and Queen move up to London. Possibly, therefore, my dear lord, I may not see you again until we meet at Claremont on Saturday. This is a terribly long time, but, at least, you can write to me. Address to the Albion Hotel, Brighton. I shall return here on Friday. Send me a line in answer to this, that I may receive it before I start, and I shall know that you do not forget me.

Yours ever truly,

Monday [*Feb. 7th*, 1831].

Thank you a thousand times, dearest Princess, for your note, but I have not now time to answer it.

I must, however, say that I think the Government of France has acted with good faith and honour, and is entitled to that credit, till facts prove that they do not deserve it. Having been willing to give them this credit, by no means diminishes our power of resenting a contrary conduct. On the contrary. In the same manner, in avowing my anxiety to preserve peace, and my joy at any event that leads to that result, I do not think I afford any reason for a doubt of my resolution to support a war, if it should be forced upon me.

Previous threats and boastings are not the best promise of true courage and resolution, if the necessity of exerting them should arise. As to Flahault, I disregard what is said of his influence, just as I do the same insinuations with respect to you. I do not mistrust myself, and therefore wait patiently and confidently till time shall show my conduct in its true light. Flahault goes back to-night to Paris. By the way, you

should be a little more careful of your confidences. I was told last night, word for word, what you had said to me of the King's declaration, that he must send for Peel, if the present Government failed; and that it came from *Madame Lieven.*

God bless you. It is long to wait till Saturday, but there is no help; and then, at least, I shall hope to see you comfortably.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Feb. 9th, 1831.

I wished to write to you yesterday, my dear lord, but it was more than impossible for me to do so. I arrived quite knocked up by my journey and the bad roads, and went straight to bed. I must begin by answering your accusation. I am perfectly certain that it is not I who am in fault. To my husband and to Lady C. alone did I mention the matter to which you refer. He certainly has not said a word to anyone, so you must find out whether the authority on which it came to you can be traced back to Lady C. or not. Otherwise, as I said to you before, there is the lady-in-waiting and the P. of O. I can only answer for myself.

But as regards all this, my dear lord, I have seen numbers of persons, your friends as well as your adversaries, who all hold the same language. They uniformly repeat that you have no party whatever; that, just as was the case with the former Administration, you are now at the mercy of any temporary coalition between the old Tories, the supporters of the late

Government, and the Radicals; and that any day your Administration may be upset. Further, to avoid this. it is said that the Government ought to make friends with the Tories, and come to an understanding with them on the question of Reform, modifying, while there is yet time, such parts of the Bill as may be deemed too violent, and thus, in short, secure the success of your measure.

Others (and I place Lord Londonderry first and foremost) evince the greatest mistrust of your foreign policy, and believe you to be entirely in the hands of France. I found myself catechized on this subject while talking with both father and son. I answered quite simply, that, up to the moment at which I was speaking, not only had we no reason to complain of the English Government, but, on the contrary, that we had every reason to be satisfied ; adding that you had kept strictly and honourably to the terms of the treaties, and had thus in every possible way secured the preservation of peace ; also that the same would be the testimony of all the other Plenipotentiaries of the Conference. Londonderry replied that this was all that was needful to induce him to support the Government, because, as regards the question of Reform, he had no objection thereto, provided only it be carried out with moderation. Castlereagh also appeared to me to attach much importance to what I had been saying, observing, however, that the news from France did not promise much in the way of peace. They both added that France would dare nothing so long as the four other Powers remained agreed. I again affirmed that we were all entirely of one mind.

After this, Sir Henry Hardinge had a long conversation with me. It is the first time I have talked with him. He is clever, and, as he took pains to divest his conversation of party prejudice,* all that he said was very plausible. He dwelt principally on the crafty spirit shown by France, and the chance that you might be duped by her feigned generosity. I said you were too sharp-sighted not to see this, and, as far as we were concerned, there was certainly nothing to be feared on this head; that, in refusing for Nemours, France had only refused war—there was no mistaking that point. He rejoined: 'France does everything on the one hand to circumvent Lord Grey, and everything on the other to do him injury. A ship from a French port has landed 800 muskets in Ireland. Is that the act of a friendly Power? She wishes to keep us so well employed at home, that we may be unable to accomplish anything abroad. She wishes to place a Prince of her own choosing on the throne of Belgium, in order that she may become mistress of that country, too. Her intrigues with reference to this are incalculable, and once her object is attained, she will throw off the mask.'—My lord, I would again urge you to beware of committing yourself with regard to the Prince of Naples. It would be a blunder, and too ridiculous to place a *lazzaroni* from Naples, who cannot speak one word of French, on the throne of Belgium; and that merely because he is a nephew of the King of the French! I question if it would ever be possible for us to accept a candidate named by France. Well, report says that you have given your word to Flahault on this point, and that it is with this that he has

* He had been Secretary at War in the Duke's Administration.

returned to Paris. I do not believe one word of this. It would be absurd. You must know, my dear lord, that *we* shall never agree to this. Think of the appearance and consequences of such a divergence of opinion. Our alliance would be at an end—an alliance which forms the only sheet-anchor of Europe. And England alone the cause—and for what? Think what a fine business it would be for your adversaries.

You will see that I have told you all that I gather from what I hear, but I regret to communicate it by letter rather than verbally. One word more: I would indeed I could see the truth of the comparison you kindly draw between Flahault and myself with regard to intimacy with you. But it must be allowed that the degree is all in all. I see you for half an hour once a week. Flahault is at your house morning and evening, at dinner—always, in fact, except that he does not sleep there; and this is remarked and commented upon by everybody. If you are not told of it, it merely proves that people are not true to you.

I dine both to-day and to-morrow at the Pavilion, and Friday I return to London. My husband has not yet arrived. I am looking forward to Saturday with great pleasure. I hope to have a letter from you to-morrow. Please address to the Albion.

A thousand kindest remembrances.

Feb. 9th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have nothing to say in the way of news, nothing having come to us since Prince Lieven left the Conference, where he would hear all that we

know. I think you will alter your opinion of our internal state when you read the debate of last night. Nothing could be more satisfactory in every respect, and the feeling of the House manifested itself strongly in favour of the Government. On money questions we have our difficulties. The public is actuated not only by a strong feeling of the abuses which have been practised, but also by what I cannot designate otherwise than as an illiberal spirit.* This feeling, spread amongst their constituents, acts powerfully on the members of the House of Commons; and in this respect, and in this respect only, we have difficulties to get over, which would equally affect any other Government. It is very long since I saw you; but I hope for two comfortable days at Claremont, and I look forward to them with great impatience.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Friday evening [11*th Feb.*, 1831].

I am back again in town, my dear lord, and very impatient to see you, but my journey has so much tired me that I must ask you to excuse my not appearing this evening at Lady Grey's party.

I am disappointed at not receiving a line from you in answer to my long letter. Meanwhile, I have to thank you for the letter you wrote to me on Wednesday. I had read the debate of the evening before

* As shown in the debates at this time on the Civil List and the reduction of the Budget.

with much satisfaction. It appears to me, as you say, much in favour of the Government. I am delighted the House should be of this way of thinking.

I have seen no one since I arrived, except Bülow, who brought forward the name of the Prince of Naples, as having had it of your Foreign Office. Truly I shall begin to think that my wits, too, are going, if I see men of note like yourself, and the other members of the Cabinet, countenancing a project which appears to me the very height of absurdity,—a Prince desired by no single Belgian, and whom France wishes to impose on Belgium and Europe, and who consequently would be in French interests alone! And is it England—who took the lead of the other Powers in measures of precaution directed against France—who is now going to support France, and allow her to set up a Neapolitan *lazzaroni* as King of a constitutional country? And this with no other result than simply to endow France with unlimited power over the very country that it was deemed so desirable to protect against her influence? I must repeat again that my wits are paralyzed in trying to understand your policy, if, indeed, it be possible that you should be contemplating any such arrangement.

But we will talk all this over to-morrow. Meanwhile, I could not go to sleep without this little outburst of indignation.

At what o'clock shall you leave for Claremont to-morrow? I will arrange my departure accordingly.

Good-night, my dear lord; till to-morrow, then, and with a thousand kind regards,

Downing Street,
Feb. 12*th*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I was not at home when your note arrived yesterday evening, and could not answer it from Holland's, where it was brought to me.

I mean to set out to-day at half-past three, if I can; but we have a Cabinet at one, and it may perhaps detain me. Everything went as ill as possible in the House of Commons last night, because the whole Treasury bench chose to sit still, and suffer the House, which was at the beginning quite with the Government, to be turned against us by repeated speeches, to which no answer was given. Grant* was the only exception. All the rest were as dumb as stock-fish.

With regard to foreign politics, we will talk on these subjects when we meet. In the meantime, let me ask you whether, if by rejecting every proposition except the Prince of Orange we are engaged in a war, you are prepared to march 150,000 men to the Rhine without a subsidy?

Talleyrand showed me a most satisfactory letter from Sebastiani last night. The rejection of the Duke of Nemours is clear and positive, the determination to adhere to their engagements, and their wish to act in concert with the other four Powers, expressed in the strongest terms.

Ever yours,

GREY.

* President of the Board of Control, afterwards Lord Glenelg.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Monday evening, 14*th* [*Feb.*, 1831].

Your last words, my dear lord, left us parted like Hannibal and Scipio; and you did not let me know when I was to see you again, or whether you would remember that I count on you for news. So I must remind you that I am most anxious to know how matters go in the House of Commons. Pray, therefore, send me a line to-morrow morning, if it is too late to do so to-night.

The news from Paris does not appear to be satisfactory. Sebastiani is the supporter of doctrines which the Conference cannot accept. It is a great pity that M. de Talleyrand cannot be Minister of Foreign Affairs and Plenipotentiary at one and the same time, as he was at the Congress of Vienna. We should then avoid these contradictions, denials and protests, which, whatever you may say, have not much the appearance of good faith.

I have this moment heard that Münster* has sent in his resignation. Did you know this? I should be sorry if it were true.

Adieu, my dear lord. I regret Claremont—that is to say, Sunday, not Saturday; and I think that when people have so little time to spare as we have, it is almost a crime to have spoilt that poor Saturday as you did. I hurried downstairs this morning to see you again, but you had just started.

Good-night, and a thousand regards.

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* Count Münster was Premier of the Kingdom of Hanover.

Feb. 14*th*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I regretted not seeing you this morning. I heard you playing on the pianoforte as I came downstairs, and was tempted to knock at your door, but I dreaded a bad reception. In coming away I looked up at your window, but you were not to be seen. You do not make allowance enough for that disagreeable *Samedi*. I was worn out with fatigue and vexation, and instead of showing any feeling for me, you were unkind, and rather disposed to add to my vexations, than to soothe them. You owe me a great deal.

The Duke of Buckingham had a meeting yesterday for the avowed purpose of forming an Opposition, and to-night opened the trenches against us, but not, I think, with much success. The House was certainly with me. The Duke of Cumberland cheered a good deal. Things have gone equally well in the House of Commons. It is disagreeable to be obliged to retreat, but, as far as I can judge, we have lost nothing, and what has happened will, I hope, convince our friends that they must not sit still when they are attacked. To repel the attack, and then to carry it vigorously into the enemy's quarters, is the only safe policy.

I do not see anything bad in the despatches which have as yet been brought to me. I really believe that all we have to complain of has been owing to the uncertain and vacillating conduct of the King [of the French]. The account Lord Granville gives of Flahault's language on his arrival at Paris will be the best answer to all the attacks you have made on me on that score.

I am afraid I have no chance of seeing you to-

morrow. I have not had a moment to-day for my own business, and the House of Lords at five takes away the only hour when I could go to you. But I am a great fool for making apologies, as I do not believe you care in reality a single straw about it. Yet I say God bless you, dearest Princess, with all my heart.

Ever yours,

G.

Downing Street,
Feb. 16*th*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

We have a Cabinet to-day at three, but as there is no House of Lords, I hope to be able to call on you at five, or soon after. I have no news that you will not have learnt from Prince Lieven. I was very sorry to hear that your General Paskievitch, having engaged in the defiles of the Caucasus, for the purpose of repressing the mountain tribes, with almost the whole of his army, had sustained a severe defeat. Have you any particulars? *Au revoir.*

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Thursday, 17*th* [*Feb.*, 1831].

I am quite unhappy at not seeing you, my dear lord, but I am very grateful for the effort you made in coming yesterday, as also for your two notes. What thankless work is yours, and how often have I been disappointed of my visits since you became Prime Minister!

The Duke of Wellington, Peel, and Aberdeen dined with me yesterday. There was great moderation in the tone of their conversation, and even a desire was manifested that your Government should hold together and become strong. Regret was expressed with reference to the Budget, but they seemed confident that the items would not be allowed to pass. They predicted with equal assurance the failure of the question of Reform. Peel spoke to me with great earnestness on the subject of foreign politics, — about the war preparations in France, and alluded ironically to the Prince of Naples. He does not admit the possibility of such a candidate, for he considers the trick too monstrous. I entirely agreed with him, and when he asked me if the Government looked with favour on this project, I answered that I hoped not. He spoke of you in the most flattering terms; but not equally so of Lord Althorp.* He had dined with me last Sunday. The Duke of Buckingham is at the Pavilion, and will remain there some days.

From whence did you get the news about Paskievitch? We know nothing whatever about it. I hope it is not true, or, at least, that it may be exaggerated. Is it even true that our army has entered Poland?

Adieu, my dear lord. There is no use in my wishing you a mere good-morning, for the day passes away as much without my seeing you, as if we were once more separated by three hundred miles.

A thousand affectionate regards.

* Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had just introduced his Budget.

Feb. 19th, 1831.

A thousand thanks, dearest Princess, for your kind note. . . .

The account of the defeat of Paskievitch came from Lord Heytesbury,* and exactly in the words I wrote it. There are also accounts from Chad,† received by him from your Minister at Berlin, of the entry of your army into Poland. According to these accounts, they had met with no resistance, and it was stated that the peasants of some of the villages had risen in favour of the Russian army. I have a very entertaining account to give you of the Duke of Buckingham's visit to Brighton, which has not at all answered his Grace's expectations.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday, 22nd [Feb., 1831].

A few lines, my dear lord, to ask about you, and to tell you my several anxieties.

I saw Londonderry yesterday, who gave me an account of what had taken place at his house at dinner on Sunday. And this was the substance: The Ultras and the Tories are agreed to give their support to Ministers, provided the plan of Reform be moderate, but to fight you if you go too deeply into the great question of the Rotten Boroughs. So you see the Government in this latter case would only have the Whigs and the 'Mountain' for it, and against it the

* Ambassador at Petersburg.

† Mr. G. W. Chad, at this period English Minister at Berlin.

Tories, the Ultras, and all the adherents of the late Administration.

Do you not think that events now taking place in France might justify a delay in making public your measure of Reform in all its details? Do not these events appear to you sufficiently grave to cause apprehension of their producing some reaction in England? Why not concede something now, giving promises for a greater extension of the franchise at a subsequent period, to be determined according to circumstances? Surely this would be equitable, and would satisfy both private and public interests. My heart fails me when I dwell on this question of Reform. I cannot help telling you of all that passes in my mind on the subject, and the more so that what I am now saying is the opinion held by your friends as well as your enemies. For I believe that the latter would honestly wish to postpone another Ministerial crisis. It would be deplored by the whole of Europe. That is why I am so deeply concerned at the matter—indeed, more than I can possibly express to you. What took place last night in the House is not very satisfactory; I have not yet read the debate, but the appearance presented by two members of the Cabinet in disagreement is not reassuring. Pozzo is very gloomy with regard to affairs in France. You may feel sure that the revolutionary movements there will be grave in their consequences. But as an Englishman, and even as a European, these need be no concern of yours.

Adieu, my dear lord. It is sad to have so much to tell, and yet not be able to meet and talk of it all. Do not forget me.

Ever yours,

D. LIEVEN.

Downing Street,
Feb. 22*nd*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

There is no retreat left on the question of the Reform. We have passed the Rubicon, and must go on. What you say of the disagreement between two Ministers in the House of Commons is quite true. I must take care that it does not happen again. But of this hereafter.

The aspect of affairs in France is certainly very bad. It has been produced, as I think, in a great degree by the weak and vacillating character of the King; and as that cause continues, what hope is there of improvement? Think of the Government workmen being employed to efface his own arms from all the public buildings, statues, etc.

I have not another moment.

God bless you.

G.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REFORM BILL.

The Introduction of the First Reform Bill—Attitude of the Tories—Advance of General Diebitsch on Warsaw—The Debate on the First Reading of the Reform Bill—Letter from Lord Howick—News of the Battles near Warsaw—The Articles in the *Courier* on Poland—Defeat of the Russians under General Geismar—Feeling throughout the Country for the Poles—Insult to the Russian Ambassador in Paris—General Opinion of the Reform Bill—The New Administration in France—Popularity of the Reform Bill among the Peers—The Defeat of the Government on the Timber Duties—The Second Reading of the Reform Bill—Sir R. Vyvyan—The Threat of a Dissolution—M. Casimir Périer Premier—The Russians Occupy Praga—The Clauses of the Bill, and the Reduction of the Number of Members—France and Belgium—The Insurrection at Bologna; Advance of Austrian Troops—Defeat of the Poles—The Dinner at the Mansion House—Marshal Sebastiani—Windsor Castle—The Insurrection in Samogitia and Lithuania—Defeat of the Russians at Waver—General Gascoyne's Amendment Carried against the Government—The Crown of Belgium Offered to Prince Leopold—Parliament Dissolved—The Duke of Cumberland and the Opposition—The New Elections; the Duke of Northumberland's Subscription—Sir R. Peel; the Duke of Wellington—Lord Palmerston's Defeat—News from Poland—The King's Visit to the City—The Cholera in Poland—The Garter and Lord Grey—Don Miguel's Illtreatment of British Merchants—Troubled State of Portugal—The Violence of the Tories—The Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester—The Party at Windsor—Lady Ely—The Cholera at Warsaw—The King and the Reform Bill—Lord and Lady Jersey—Russian Defeat at Ostrolenka—The Grand Duchess Helène—Arrival of Don Pedro—England and Belgium.

[March 1 was fixed for the introduction of the Reform Bill into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell.]

To Earl Grey.

Monday, 28th [Feb., 1831].

How are you, my dear lord? and how are things going for to-morrow? Last night I met some

persons at Lady Salisbury's, and learnt that the Wellingtonites and Peel had held a meeting with the Ultras, when it was agreed not to oppose the first reading of the Bill. The general idea, however, is that the Bill will be thrown out by a majority of from seventy to a hundred votes. This is what Sir Henry Hardinge maintains. He spoke to me about the two chiefs of the Opposition, and confirmed my notion that they are far from being of one mind—I mean Peel and Wellington. I repeat, this is a fact that must not be lost sight of for a moment, and you may depend upon the truth of what I say. Hardinge, moreover, told me that the Ultras take upon themselves to lay down the law, and that the Duke of Wellington thinks such pretension on their part very strange, as coming from those who had helped to upset his Administration. In short, up to the present time there is no unity among them whatever.

There was a report last night that you intended to disfranchise fifteen boroughs. Your old Master of the Rolls* declared that this would be turning England into a Republic. Be this true or not, I hope, at all events, that you do not hold the question of Reform to be one of life and death; and, further, I trust that you may be contemplating some salutary changes in the Cabinet. Keep Peel in your mind; everything is possible. Hardinge tells me that Grant had wished to withdraw.

Now, after my telling you all this gossip, I beg you will send me some news. Do you know anything more about our Russian affairs than the newspapers tell us? What about France, and Italy, and Belgium?

* Sir John Leach.

How perplexing it is to have to bear in mind all the corners of Europe at once! I hope, my dear lord, that your Council yesterday was satisfactory. I feel very hopeful, and believe that all will go well. No one will venture to declare himself an anti-Reformer; the business would be too risky. No doubt many would desire less. After all, however, your efforts have been most loyally carried out, and should you not be able to effect everything you propose, it must remain evident to all England that it is from you alone that anything is to be hoped for in the future. Consequently, it is your Administration alone that gives the guarantee for tranquillity at home.

I am thinking much about you, and full of curiosity. Write me a few lines if you have time.

Adieu, and a thousand regards.

[Early in February, General Diebitsch entered Poland at the head of 114,000 men, and marched against Praga, the bulwark of Warsaw on the right bank of the Vistula. The Poles were at this time under the command of Prince Radziwill.]

Downing Street,
Feb. 28th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Many thanks for your kind note. Next to seeing you, hearing from you is my greatest pleasure. We have no news worth relating. The last accounts I have seen from Chad are of the 17th, and give long extracts from the Warsaw papers, etc., of the 11th and 12th. The head-quarters of Prince Radziwill were then at Yablowna, between Minsk and Warsaw. The papers give accounts of several trifling affairs, in which,

of course, the advantage was always on the side of the Poles. The accounts that come from the opposite quarter are, of course, also directly the reverse, but much more probable than the former. A very short time must put an end to all doubt.

Not dividing on the introduction of the Bill is no great proof of the confidence of our opponents in their strength. And then, what do these gentlemen propose to themselves? The principle of the reform being sanctioned by the introduction of the Bill, will they afterwards oppose a measure which is to carry that principle into effect, or reduce its efficiency so as to make it appear a mere *humbug* (not a very elegant, but a very expressive, word) to the public? Of the consequences which would result from either of these attempts, if successful, I leave you to judge. In a measure of so much difficulty, one cannot speak with confidence of what may happen in its progress; and I am not so wedded to our plan as not to consent to alterations which would not destroy its character and efficiency. Our calculations give us a majority of about 70; but in such a state of things no calculations are much to be relied on, as none can be made, except with reference to circumstances as they now exist, which must, in a matter of this nature, necessarily be subject to great changes during the discussion. To this difficulty is added, on the part of our opponents, the want of union among themselves. It is not the first time that they have held confident language respecting their strength, which has been completely contradicted by the result. As to the matter of Peel, I think there is a great deal in what you say; and I have no indisposition towards him. But how to find a place for him? The three Secretaries of State are all

excellent men, and I could not consent to the removal of one of them. There is no other situation that he could take except mine; and that I should have no objection to give up, if it could afford the means of making a really strong and efficient Administration.

Ever yours,

G.

[After the introduction of the Reform Bill on March 1, the House, instead of dividing, adjourned the debate till the morrow. The debate, thus adjourned, was protracted over seven nights, and on the 9th the Bill was read for the first time without a division.]

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday, 2nd [*March*, 1831].

I entreat you to send me some news, my dear lord. I have not yet received the papers, and I know nothing of what has happened since I last saw you. I am uneasy and anxious. How did the debate end? What is going to take place? Heaven have you in its keeping! Pray attend to your daughter's counsel. Send me an answer, and believe me

Yours ever truly,

Downing Street,
March 2nd, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

There was nothing material in the subsequent part of the debate. Sir Cullen Smith, whom we had put down as a decided opponent, spoke *for* the plan; Horace Twiss and Lord Granville Leveson both badly against it; Althorp *for;* and then the House adjourned. Appearances, as they are represented to me, are very

favourable; and when the plan is known, I have no doubt that public opinion will be decidedly with me.

God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Thursday, March 3rd, 1831.

The Opposition, my dear lord, have agreed, out of respect for the King, to allow the Bill to be brought in, and will only oppose it at the second reading; no question of amendment will be allowed: the whole Bill must be rejected. This is what I hear on good authority. There is as yet no positive understanding come to with the Ultras, but a considerable *rapprochement* has taken place.

The Princesses, without exception, are violently opposed to Reform; and the future Regent† speaks of it as the greatest of possible calamities. I hear the remarks of people of all shades of opinion. The most reasonable opinion is that of the Prince of Orange, who says that the rejection of the Bill will be the

* The following note from Lord Howick is of interest. It was apparently enclosed in the above letter to the Princess, and is dated in pencil in her handwriting:

9 o'clock [March 1st, 1831].

MY DEAR FATHER,

Lord John spoke very well. The measure is generally approved by our friends, but they are very much astonished. They say the measure is *honest*, at all events. John Smith said, 'It's true I lose my borough; but I had no notion you would have been so honest and wise at the same time.' The Mountain are all with us, except O'Connell; the Tories indignant, and saying they might have supported a moderate measure, but this is rooting up everything. Sebright seconded, and Inglis is now speaking, as ill as possible, the House almost empty, and not a soul listening.

Your affectionate

HOWICK.

† The Duchess of Kent.

signal for revolution, therefore that it is madness not to support it. This opinion he maintains to all your opponents, who limit themselves to affirming that the voice of the nation is not for Reform. I feel extremely anxious, and wish you would send me a few lines. But I have got over my alarm; there are so many good points in the Bill, which one discovers on examination. It is strong and bold; and I certainly believe it to be a salutary measure. Will the Bill pass? And if it should not, what then? Under any circumstances, do not dream of throwing up the game. One thing is certain, that the King will back you as long as you stand by him; and why should you not stand by him, even admitting the very worst—the rejection of the Bill?

Send me some news; and say also if I shall see you to-morrow. At all events I shall come early to-morrow evening to Lady Grey's. Good-bye, my dear lord. Have you been keeping me in mind?

Downing Street,
March 3rd, 1831.

A thousand thanks, dearest Princess, for your note. Everything, I think, is going well. The public is decidedly with us, and the violence of our opponents adds to my confidence. The King yesterday, and in letters to-day, has given me the strongest assurance of support; and you know me little if you think that, having once undertaken a measure of this importance, I can shrink from any of its consequences. The enemy opened their fire to-day in the House of Lords, and we are to have a battle on Thursday.

The Duke of Wellington took a position, which I only marked enough to fix him to it, on which I can desire nothing better than to meet him. We have had hitherto decidedly the best of the debate in the House of Commons, and with the force we have in reserve, it will be hard if we fail in the conclusion of it. I again say I do not understand the *tactique* of our opponents. Is it possible to suffer a measure, which is revolutionary and subversive of the monarchy, to receive the assent of the House of Commons in a single stage? Before the second reading, I think you will see such a display of feeling in the country as will make gentlemen, who have popular elections to look to, think twice before they venture upon a decided opposition. Almost all the districts of the Metropolis will meet immediately, and there will be an address from the City to the King, which he will have to receive on the throne. All this would be delightful if I were only twenty years younger; but I have still strength enough for this fight, and with the support of the King and the people, I cannot but think I have a good chance of victory. The opinion of the Prince of Orange is perfectly just. I have no chance of seeing you to-morrow unless you come to Lady Grey's soirée.

God bless you, dearest Princess. It cannot be necessary for me to answer your question. But you—how can I think that you have a corresponding feeling?

Ever yours,

G.

Downing Street,
March 7th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Pray tell me whether you have any accounts of the battles before Warsaw. I have seen letters from Hamburg which speak of intelligence from thence as late as the 24th, when the Poles still maintained their position, but, from the immense superiority of your army, I should think the event could not be doubtful. But I feel for all the anxiety you must feel on account of the loss with which this unhappy contest is attended. How I wish that the further effusion of blood could be prevented by an accommodation!

There never was anything like the feeling that has manifested itself in all parts of the country on the question of Reform. The opposition to it is really little short of insanity.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday evening, 8th [*March*, 1831].

Just one line, my dear lord, this evening, so that the day may not have passed away without a sign of remembrance. I am impatient, and almost uneasy, at receiving no decisive news from Warsaw. If you should learn any, pray do not fail to acquaint me with it.

By the way, my dear lord, take the trouble to get and read last evening's *Courier*, and tell me candidly if you ever have seen anything more insulting and

injurious than what is written here of a Sovereign and a Power in friendly alliance with England. The *Courier* frequently declares its statements to be *by authority;* now, it appears to me that the authority which sometimes inspires its articles might equally forbid such articles as these. And you must be quite aware that there is no one in England or out of England but considers the *Courier* as a semi-official journal. Pray think for one moment of the effect produced by such writings. After having brought to your notice what I look upon as of really serious consideration in respect to general language, it were needless for me to tell you how deeply pained I feel at this particular instance of vituperation.

I trust that all is going well with you. I have seen no one to-day, except the Duke of Cumberland. He seems to me still to keep your friend, although no friend to the Bill. The Prince of Orange intends to leave for the Hague next week.

Good-bye, my dear lord, until to-morrow, when we shall meet in a hubbub. I shudder to think of it!

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
March 8th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for your note. I have no news whatever respecting Poland—at least, Palmerston has sent me none.

I saw the article last night in the *Courier*, and it vexed me very much. We really have no power over that, or any other paper, in great circulation. All that we can do is by sending them sometimes an article of

intelligence (but even to this I am no party) to conciliate them, when public opinion is not against us. But when there is a strong general feeling, as in the case of Poland, it is quite impossible to control them. We might purchase a paper that is not read, which would do us no good till it got into circulation; and then it would do just like the others. The truth is, that the profits of a paper extensively taken in are so great, that they are quite beyond any temptation that could be held out to them. I really thought that you had been long enough in England to understand this matter, and that nothing could lead to more erroneous conclusions than a belief that any of these papers, on matters of general policy, speak the opinions of the Government, and with the present Government less than any other; for I would not on any account put myself in the power of any of their conductors by having any communication with them. Of this you may be convinced when you observe that when they cannot help, from the strong current of public opinion, supporting my measures, they hardly ever give me a good word personally. Brougham, whose conduct is different, is their hero, and on every favourable opportunity they never fail to attack me.

Lady Grey is suffering very much from a feverish attack. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

Downing Street,
March 11th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Though you were very ungracious the last time I met you, I must say how much I regret not

seeing you. My hope of that pleasure is disappointed to-night by Lady Grey being obliged to put off her party. She is better, however, and I do *not* mean that our dinner to-morrow should be put off, which, by the way, is a small one, as I think you will excuse her not coming to table. I shall then, at least, have an opportunity of a little conversation with you. We have no news of any consequence, and nothing from Poland which adds to our former intelligence. Chad's letters contain nothing new, except the copy of a despatch from Marshal Diebitsch, giving an account of the check which General Geismar* had sustained, which confirms the Polish account of that affair. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

P.S.—Lord Gosford is the new Lord of the Bedchamber.

To Earl Grey.

Friday, March 11th, 1831.

Thanks, my dear lord, for your note. You are a physiognomist. It is quite true that my feelings to you yesterday were not what they have been for many past years. But you cannot be surprised, when I tell you that I heard of the exclamation with which you concluded the account you gave to a certain diplomatist of what we had done before Warsaw. And the exclamation was this: 'All is ended; and it is *most* unfortunate.' I no longer recognise the friend, still less do I recognise the statesman. In

* General Geismar, commander of the Russian cavalry, was routed at Stoczek on February 14 by the Poles under General Dwernicki.

fact, I do not know what to think, and probably I had better keep silence.

I regret to hear that Lady Grey continues unwell. Thank you for wishing still to receive us at dinner to-morrow.

Good-bye, my dear lord. For the first time I feel a hesitation in writing to you; but when the heart is full one can find neither ideas nor words.

March 12th, 1831.

I don't know who your diplomat may have been, but he possesses at least one of the qualities which are ascribed to that race. *There is not one word of truth in the exclamation which is said to have escaped me.* I have never concealed from you, however, that I feel a good deal of compassion for these poor Poles. But it has never influenced the conduct which my public duty prescribed to me. I am not a little vexed at your so easily believing this absurd story, and at your being so ready to withdraw the kindness which I had hoped did not depend altogether on our political agreement.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Saturday, 12th [March, 1831].

It was in talking to M. de Talleyrand, my dear lord, that the exclamation in question escaped you, after the dinner at the Londonderrys'. And I believe as implicitly in the person who heard it, and repeated it to me, as I believe in my own self. It now appears to me, however, that I believe in you

more than in myself, since your note has obliterated all trace of the pain that I had at heart. See, my dear lord, the extent of your power over me. But, at the same time, do not feel astonished that I should have felt deeply wounded by anything that might appear injurious to what I have a right to expect from you, both as a friend and as a statesman. I take back nothing of what I said, as you see.

Now let us look upon this as a good and perfect reconciliation. Your note made me feel happy again, and I thank you for the good it did me. I look forward to telling you this by word of mouth before very long. Believe, however, that I should not have been so distressed yesterday, had I cared less about you.

[*March 12th*, 1831.]

Thank you, dearest Princess, for your second note, and for the kindness it expresses. But I must repeat that the assertion of your diplomat is altogether false, and I should not have the least objection to tell him so to his face. If he heard any such words, they must have been applied to something else; but I do not recollect having had any conversation, except quite in public, with Talleyrand at Lady Londonderry's, and was it likely that I should have committed such an indiscretion?

Let me see you at dinner with your usual expression of cordiality and confidence—I really deserve it.

God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Monday, March 14th, 1831.

I have really nothing to say to you, my dear lord; but here are two days gone by without writing, and we must not get into bad habits.

I am vexed at the insult offered to our Ambassador in Paris, for mischief must arise from it.* If the French Government be not sufficiently strong to protect the representative of a friendly Power, the only thing to do is to avert renewed insults by recalling our Ambassador; and I much fear that this is what will happen.

I am very sorry that our Polish business is not yet brought to a conclusion. Not that I have any apprehension as to the result, but delay means further effusion of blood, and more victims; and this is very melancholy to contemplate.

To turn to something agreeable. I must congratulate you on the rapid progress of your Bill. I receive on this head various details from the provinces, which are really curious to read. Even those most opposed to Reform are beginning now to find out that the Bill is both good and wise. Lord Chesterfield, amongst others, has just discovered that the Bill increases his influence, and he is now somewhat embarrassed at having promised his support to the Duke of Wellington. Each day people are making discoveries of this nature, and I should not be surprised if it should end in there being no opposition to the measure. I should be delighted, for then you would

* Count Pozzo di Borgo had been insulted by the mob during the tumults which took place (March 10) in Paris, when the news arrived of the defeat of the Polish insurgents, and of the cruelties to which the Poles were being subjected.

become stronger than ever, and your voice the more powerful in Europe. You see that, in desiring this, I hold that *we*, at least, shall always be one.

Good-night, my dear lord.

Yours ever, faithfully and truly,

Downing Street,
March 15th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

After two days passed without seeing or hearing from you, your note was a great comfort to me. I began to think you had forgotten me. I should have sent to you as soon as I had read the despatches from Chad if they had contained anything material; but, as usual, there was nothing in them but extracts from the Warsaw papers and communications from your Minister at Berlin, which you would, of course, receive in a more authentic shape. The result of my observations upon the accounts in the Warsaw papers and on Field-Marshal Diebitsch's despatches is, that though the Poles were driven from the field of battle and retired into Warsaw, Diebitsch no longer found it possible to carry Warsaw on that side. He had been obliged, therefore, to change his plan, and to begin a long and difficult operation at this season (if the Poles had a sufficient force to oppose to him), for the purpose of crossing the Vistula at Plock and Gora. But I agree with you in thinking that this operation must ultimately succeed, reduced as the Polish army must be by the late battles and without the means of repairing its losses. The best hope they have is in the season, and in the sickness which it may produce in the Russian army.

Lord Granville speaks of some change in the French Ministry as unavoidable, but does not think it at all certain whether it will be Casimir Périer, or Odillon Barrot and Dupont de l'Eure. In either case, he thinks Sebastiani will go out. You have a right to complain of the insult offered to your Ambassador; but, under such circumstances, you should be disposed to receive any apology from the Government for what they could not prevent. I am afraid that Pozzo, who is not celebrated for having the best nerves in any case of personal difficulty, may be too ready to take measures which might produce unnecessarily a breach between the two Governments.

The success of our Reform Bill is beyond all expectation. If the Peers have any sense, they will discover, as Lord Chesterfield has done, that it is quite as much for their interests as for that of the rest of the community. The truth is, that it takes from them a power which makes them odious, and substitutes for it an influence which connects them with the people, at the same time preserving their relation to the Crown, and thus making them, as they ought to be, a connecting-link between the Crown and the people. We had our first division last night, and a motion brought on by Lord Wynford, without any previous notice. The enemy were evidently prepared for it, though we were not; but our numbers were sufficient; and I hope you admire the list of names in the minority. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

P.S.—I approve of the line taken in the answer to Talleyrand; but I think it might be better drawn up.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday evening, 15th [March, 1831].

Many thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of this morning. I was much amused at the list of last night's minority, and delighted that this precious attempt turned out as it did. I have a request to make to you. The Prince of Orange dines once again with us on Friday; it was only to-day he finally decided to postpone his departure till Saturday. Would you give us the honour (as is said officially), and me the great pleasure, of receiving you at dinner on that day? Pray answer, 'Yes.' I have no news from any quarter to-day; have you? How long it is since I last saw you!

Good-bye, my dear lord, and a thousand regards.

Tuesday [March 15th, 1831].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I should have had great pleasure in dining with you on Friday, but I have, unfortunately, an engagement which it is quite impossible for me to put off. We have nothing new to-day; but I am told Casimir Périer is certainly to be the French Minister.

God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

[The Government were defeated on March 18 in the House of Commons on the Timber Duties, which Lord Althorp, in his Budget, had proposed to reduce. The Protectionists united with the Opposition, and the proposal was rejected by 236 votes to 190.]

To Earl Grey.

Saturday, 19th [March, 1831].

What was the meaning of the division yesterday in the House of Commons, my dear lord? It makes me furious. Let me have a word to tell me that it was not to your prejudice. I have just written an excuse to Lady Grey for last night; I was tired to death by my dinner-party, and my husband was kept writing till two in the morning by the bag. We had the Duke of Wellington to dinner. He showed no bitterness, but seemed quite confident of the rejection of the Reform Bill. And when I asked him if this would not lead to serious commotions in the country, he answered me 'Bah! bah!' It does not appear to me a very powerful argument. Shall I see you to-day at half-past five, my dear lord?

Good-bye, and a thousand regards.

Downing Street,
March 19th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

The meaning of the division is that they collected all the persons interested on the question of the Timber Duties, with all the opponents of Reform, and Peel and Herries joined most treacherously with them, though neither of them directly opposed the measure. It is always disagreeable to fail in anything, but this defeat is not of much consequence in itself, though all the opponents of Government will, I have no doubt, be very triumphant and very insolent upon it.

I will call on you at half-past five, if possible; but I cannot promise positively. God bless you.

Yours ever,

G.

[The second reading of the Reform Bill began on Monday, March 21; and, after two nights' debate, was ultimately carried by a single vote, the numbers being 302 to 301.]

To Earl Grey.

Monday, 21st [March, 1831].

I have such a dreadful cold, my dear lord, that I dare not venture out to Lady Grey's this evening, as I had wished to do. But I must have some news of you. Are you still confident for to-night? Are you resolved, in the event of the defeat of the Bill, to dissolve? I promise the most inviolable secrecy, but I am uneasy, for the moment seems to me most critical; and you well know how deeply interested I am in it all.

Have you any news from the Continent?

Adieu, my dear lord. Take care of yourself in body and mind. All my good wishes go with you, as also my friendly regards.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday, 22nd [March, 1831].

Well, my dear lord, last night's discussion in the Commons: has it thrown any light on the fate of the Bill? I wait for your commentary, as I am incapable of forming an opinion from what I read of the debate. I hope that Lord Valetort will not be allowed

to keep his place at Court. Pray send me a line. You can conceive how anxious I am just now about everything. I feel dreadfully worried. Indeed, for the present I set aside France, Italy, Belgium, and even Poland.

Adieu. I cannot say *au revoir*, for Heaven only knows when we shall meet.

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
March 22nd, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have this moment received your note, of which I must complain, in the first instance, for not having told me how you do. I don't know that the debate of last night makes much difference in our expectations. We calculate confidently on a majority for the second reading. There was nothing remarkable in the discussion, except a most eloquent and powerful speech in favour of the Bill from Mr. Sheil. The previous discussion on the complaint of the *Times* did us good. It divided our opponents, provoked the press, and ended by a great display of weakness in not daring to divide. The course taken by the opponents to the Bill ought also to turn to our advantage. Sir R. Vyvyan opposes the second reading, but declares at the same time that, if he carries the question, he will himself move a resolution, pledging the House to *some* Reform, but not saying what. He thus concedes the principle, admits the necessity, and, having given this advantage to the advocates for Reform, disappoints their expectation. Can there be a plan

more certainly leading to the worst consequences than this?

God bless you.

Ever yours,

G

March 24th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I think the result of last night very satisfactory, though it would undoubtedly have been more so if the majority had been larger. You may judge of the effect by the disappointment of the confident expectation of our opponents. I have now till April 14* to propose my measures, and with a resolution to face all difficulties, I feel confident that I shall surmount them, if my strength does not fail me. They were much served by a report most studiously circulated, that the King had refused to agree to a dissolution. *Nous verrons.*

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Friday, March 25th, 1831.

I really think I am ill-treated, my dear lord, to be left so long without seeing you. At least write to me, and tell me something about yourself and your affairs, for these are the subjects mostly occupying my thoughts at this moment.

It is generally said that the Bill will be very much mutilated in Committee—indeed, more so than you could allow. Is there no means of coming to an

* After the Easter recess.

understanding beforehand with the less violent of the Opposition, so as to insure the provisions you may consider indispensable being carried? You see how tenaciously I hold to my opinion that a *rapprochement* with Peel would be most desirable. But perhaps this may be beyond the reach of possibility, in consequence of declarations on either side. I have not yet had time to read yesterday's debate in the House of Commons. I only saw your declarations in the House of Lords, which appeared to me stated very categorically. A dissolution is so generally dreaded, that you do well to hold it as a sword of Damocles over their heads. But, to carry out my simile, keep it suspended, as there would be danger were it allowed to fall.

I wish I could talk with you, for I am sure you pay no attention to my letters. If it be possible for me to go out this evening, I will come to Lady Grey's, but early, so as to see you.

Adieu, my dear lord. Can you come to-morrow? and if so, when?

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
March 26th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I intended to have called on you to-day after taking a short ride, but I really felt so completely worn out that I was obliged to come home, to get a little rest before I go to a dinner, which I could not avoid.

Everything is going on well for us. The despair of our adversaries—of which I have the most certain proofs, notwithstanding all their pretended confidence

—gives me this assurance still more strongly than our own calculations.

I have heard no news of any kind. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Sunday, 27th [March, 1831].

Thank you much, my dear lord, for your note of yesterday, and the good news it contains. It appears to me that, provided all goes on well and steadily here, elsewhere all must be right. It must be admitted, however, that the conduct of France on the Belgian question is not yet characterized by entire good faith, and that M. Casimir Périer reminds us still too much of M. Lafitte.*

According to letters from Berlin, our army up to March 12 was still in occupation of the suburb of Praga, and our troops were in their quarters waiting to cross the Vistula. The Polish army numbers 25,000 men. The influence of the moderates at Warsaw was on the increase, and the leaders of the irreconcilables were about to retire on Cracow. This is what Colonel Mycielski, the Polish officer bearing a flag of truce, told Marshal Diebitsch.

I wonder what you will have to tell me, my dear lord. Shall I see you to-day, and at what hour? If you could only let me know the exact time when it would be possible for you to come, you would then be sure to find me at home, for I would arrange my visits

* M. Casimir Périer had succeeded M. Lafitte as Premier (President of the Council).

and going out accordingly—that is to say, before or after your coming.

Good-bye. I have only three more days in London. What a pity you cannot come to Brighton!

Downing Street,
March 27th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am in despair! A Cabinet to-day at three, and more than will occupy every moment of my time till that hour, make it impossible, absolutely impossible, for me to call on you to-day.

To-morrow we have a debate in the House of Lords, with all the usual business in the morning, and the next day the same, so that if you do not stay over Wednesday, I have no chance of seeing you before you go to Brighton. I wish I could pass two or three comfortable days there, but I cannot go so far.

I was very much pleased with both Casimir Périer's speeches, and I augur well from them for the preservation of peace.

I don't understand how a corps of the Polish army could act on the right bank of the Vistula, and penetrate beyond Lublin, if you held the suburb of Praga, and were in force on that side. But a few days will give us more certain means of judging. What I wish is that peace should be restored on equitable conditions, and that, for the interest of Russia and of Europe, this unfortunate affair should be speedily settled, and in such a way as to give general satisfaction. God bless you.

Ever yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday, March 29th, 1831.

It appears to me, my dear lord, that in yesterday's debate the Government was triumphant. Your speech was very fine. But let me have your opinion. I have seen many Tories during the last two days. Their tone in general is that of great discouragement; the Duke of Wellington and his people, more than the rest, are quite cast down.

Sir C. Wetherell and Lord Beresford, at Lady Salisbury's the other day, were discussing most earnestly the clauses of the Bill. What surprised me most was to hear them objecting so strongly to the contemplated reduction of the numbers in the Commons. They would wish to keep the present total, because, according to them, such a reduction would too much affect the proportions, and tell against England in favour of Ireland.

My husband has received two despatches from Diebitsch, which confirm what I told you the other day. Do you think the French Cabinet is behaving well in the Belgian question? It seems to me nothing has been gained by the change in the Ministry. However, as long as we maintain our strong position—that is to say, as long as we four Powers keep to our engagements, and exact respect from others for the same—it will matter little to us what may be the action of France. If I can leave home this evening, I will go to Lady Grey's to see you for a moment, but it could not be before half-past ten, because we have people to dinner.

Adieu, my dear lord, and a thousand affectionate regards.

Downing Street,
March 29th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

The debate was, as might have been expected, entirely in our favour. But I was not content with my own speech—the truth is, that I have not been well for the last two days, and was half dead when I began to speak at one o'clock this morning. I know the state of the feeling in the enemy's camp, and particularly in their chief, to be what you describe. In the clauses of the Bill, I shall not object to any alterations which will not affect its character and efficiency, and which may be reasonable. As to the reduction of the numbers, it is, in my opinion, one of the best features in the measure; but not being material as to its *principle*, it is precisely one of those points on which I could most easily give way if the public feeling should desire it. But these people cannot see an inch before them. The alteration of the proportion of the Irish representation could not injure our decided preponderance, and the addition of the 58 members which would be necessary to keep up the present numbers could not be made without adding to that part of the representation of which the opponents of the measure are, or appear to be, most fearful.

I really see nothing to diminish my hopes that things are much more likely to go well under the government of Casimir Périer than they were under his predecessors. According to the last despatches, notwithstanding the loss which Diebitsch allows himself to have sustained, it appears to me that the resistance of the Poles cannot be maintained long after the Vistula shall have become free. Generosity and

clemency in the moment of success—the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, with proper securities for its future government—and everything in all parts of the world will, I think, be settled by a general and permanent peace.

If I can find a quarter of an hour between half-past three and half-past four, I will call; if not, I shall look with impatience to the pleasure of seeing you to-night. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Sunday, April 3rd, 1831.

Here I am, my dear lord, expecting letters from you, and receiving none. Plenty of east wind, plenty of dust—no news. Think how agreeable all this is to me. Pray come to my help, otherwise I shall return to London more ill than when I left.

Is it true that Bologna is not taken,* and that the French Government alone believed in it? This would be too good! Even if it were true, I do not believe in war, because nobody wishes for it, and France less than any other country. I think that with Sebastiani the less in Paris, and with the Prince of Orange the more at Brussels, one might feel assured of peace. . . . The first can be brought about any day,† the latter by the force

* Following the election of Gregory XVI., an insurrection broke out in the Papal States, and on February 4 a Provisional Government was established in Bologna, which declared the temporal sovereignty of the Pope to be at an end. On March 21 the Austrians entered the town, and re-established the papal authority.

† Marshal Sebastiani had remained on as Foreign Minister after M. Casimir Périer came into office on March 13.

of circumstances in a very few weeks; and this arrangement alone is what would suit Belgium and every other country. Anything else would deliver over that country to France, or impose her as a burden for ever upon England. This is a truth which requires no demonstration. How much I should like to be at Stoke on Tuesday!

Good-bye, my dear lord; this week will be a very long one: try and shorten it by writing to me.

All sincere good wishes.

Downing Street,
April 4th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter this morning. It gave me, as your letters always do, the greatest pleasure; but it is a poor substitute for that of seeing you.

We have despatches from all parts of the world; but nothing very material, except the confirmation of the advance of the Austrians to Bologna on February* 21, so there was a mistake only of one day. Their force consisted of twenty battalions of infantry, twelve squadrons of cavalry, twenty-four pieces of cannon, and a rocket brigade. This was, to say the least of it, a very precipitate measure, but I hope it will not be followed by any bad effect; at least, if the Austrians are reasonable, and withdraw their troops, in order to settle matters by an amicable negotiation, in the way that was before proposed. The conduct of the French Government, according to Lord Granville's despatches of the 1st, has been very moderate on this occasion,

* Read March.

and indicates, I think, as indeed all their latter communications have done, a sincere desire for peace.

Chad, whose last letter is, I think, dated February* 27, tells us nothing that adds to our former information respecting the state of affairs in Poland. Walewski dined here yesterday. If the accounts he gives are to be depended upon, there will still be a severe and bloody struggle, though the result can hardly be doubted. How earnestly I wish that this could be prevented by an arrangement that might be honourable to the Emperor, and satisfactory, as to their future government, to his revolted subjects!

I go to Stoke to-morrow, and shall stay there till Saturday. I regret your not being of the party, which I think might have been managed if you had not been so impatient to go to Brighton; where you can get no good in this weather (though, by the way, they tell me it is better to-day), especially if you persevere in going out in an open carriage. Talleyrand, Madame de Dino, and Montrond are to be at Stoke on Thursday. Lady Grey is not able to go, as Lady Durham's confinement is hourly expected.

I am really too stupid, as this letter will have sufficiently proved; so good-bye, and God bless you.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most entirely,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
April 5th, 1831.

Thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of yesterday. This will find you at Stoke. Do not for-

* Again read March.

get me, but send me some news. I am very glad that you take to driving and walking, and that you begin to share my predilection for Richmond, for I am told you went there the other day, in spite of the east wind. You see I know all your movements.

Here, with regard to news, we are entirely dependent on your charity; for not one single letter have we received from abroad since we came to Brighton. I bathe every day; I drive for three hours in an open carriage, and I have not caught cold.

I have had a long letter from Matuscewitz, from Belvoir Castle. He tells me that up to the 26th the Tories were most hopeful, but that a few days later they were much discouraged by news from London that the King had decided to support you, and even, were it necessary, to dissolve Parliament. It appears that up to the earlier date they had received assurances entirely to the contrary of this. Later Lord Wharncliff arrived, and spread dismay among the party. In short, they consider the game as ended. The question of the Reform Bill is no longer an anxiety to me. It appears to me to be done with, and to be well done; and I am only now thinking how long the business may last. I wish much it could be finished off quickly, and the Session brought to a close; for it seems to me that if you were able to find your way to Richmond on April 2, you would be well able to do so in the month of June.

Good-bye, my dear lord. Write to me after your visit to Windsor, which is fixed for to-morrow, I think.

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
April 5th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I write a line before I set out for Stoke, just to recall myself to your recollections, having little else to say.

We have despatches this morning from Chad of March 30, containing the substance of accounts from Marshal Diebitsch, and from a Major Brandt, a Russian officer, who left Diebitsch's headquarters on the 21st. If these accounts are accurate, the war cannot last long after the operations are resumed; but as Chad announces despatches from your Minister at Berlin to Prince Lieven with all the details, it cannot be necessary for me to say more about them. The only thing which, perhaps, may not be mentioned is the report of the surgeon, who had been sent to Warsaw, and had returned to Berlin. He states the number of sick and wounded there, including 500 Russians, to be about 8,000; that the army is entirely devoted to the cause; but that the citizens of Warsaw do not like the notion of defending the town. On this the young Prince Czartoryski, who had come to Berlin after the battle of the 25th instant, said to Chad that they would not be consulted. I repeat my wish that an arrangement could be made, and this wish is not diminished by the publication of a letter which I wrote to Kosciusko in 1814, and which you will see in the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day. It was not quite fair to publish it, but the temptation to do so under the present circumstances was, perhaps, too great to be resisted.

The dinner at the Mansion House yesterday went

off as well as possible; the greatest applause was to the Chancellor [Brougham] and Lord John Russell. Walmesley was there, and I was fearful of a speech either from the Lord Mayor or Hume, in proposing his health, which might have been awkward enough on such an occasion in the presence of all the Ministers. But the meeting broke up rather suddenly on the Duke of Sussex's going away, and my following him, which prevented all the follies that might have been committed after the wine had circulated a little longer. Walmesley was taken there by Lady Glengall without an invitation.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
April 6th, 1831.

I am most grateful for your letter of yesterday, my dear lord, and thank you much for the news it contained. I have just read your letter to Kosciusko, also the remarks of the leader of the Opposition thereon. I feel no anxiety as to what the Premier of England will do.

My husband has had despatches from our Minister at Berlin. The struggle will recommence as soon as the material obstacles have been surmounted. As to any arrangement, this could be made possible only by the submission of the Poles. A Sovereign cannot treat with his subjects; he can only grant. Had the Poles but realized this truth sooner, what disasters would not have been avoided!

My husband has heard also from Paris. Pozzo is making much of Casimir Périer, and sincerely trusts he may be able to keep in. If he can hold his place until the close of the Session, much will have been gained. It appears that the Palais Royal is again thinking of the Prince of Naples for Belgium. What vacillations, what contradictions and bad faith, and always coming from that quarter! M. Sebastiani conducts his policy as an intrigue is conducted on the stage; but Scapin's tricks are cleverer than his.

We have had one fine day, but the bad weather is beginning again, and this depresses me. I hope you will find time for writing to me during your leisure in the country, though I know that very often leisure is less conducive to letter-writing than is business. But you have never yet forgotten me, and, indeed, you do well. Your letters give me the greatest pleasure.

Adieu, my dear lord.

Your sincere and constant friend,

——

Stoke Farm,
April 7th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter was brought to me yesterday by a messenger, who came from the Foreign Office, but not in time to answer it before I went to Windsor.

Our dinner there passed off as usual. The King very kind and gracious, and the Queen, next to whom I sat, particularly so. The company consisted only of the usual inmates of the house, who, you know, are sufficiently numerous—Lord Howe, Lord Valetort, the Seftons, and ourselves. I think the rooms delightful, very magnificent, and yet very comfortable—a

little too much charged with gilding and finery, perhaps. We are to go to luncheon to-morrow to see the whole place. I forgot whether I told you that I have only my daughters with me, Lady Grey being detained by the hourly expectation of Lady Durham's confinement.

From the last accounts from Paris I think it seems very probable that Sebastiani will be removed, after the adjournment or the dissolution of the Chambers. It would be convenient to defer it till then, on account of the discussions that may follow. They believe that in this event Casimir Périer would himself take the *Porte-feuille des Affaires Etrangères.* This would, I believe, be a good appointment with a view to the preservation of peace. I believe the account given by Matuscewitz of the state of the high Tories to be perfectly correct. They must see the hopelessness of a direct opposition. I wish they could be equally convinced that it is for their interest that the question should be settled in such a manner as not to leave behind it any cause of complaint, which would bring it back upon them, at no distant period, in a much worse shape.

I have old partialities for Richmond, and I should like above all things, especially if you are to be there in the summer, to find a villa in that neighbourhood. I have heard of one at St. Leonards, adjoining old Lady Harcourt's, of which they give a most tempting description. It is rather too far, though its neighbourhood to Windsor would be convenient.

We expect Montrond and Mr. Creevey to-day, and to-morrow Talleyrand and Madame de Dino. I am not quite certain that I shall not stay here till Sunday,

but on that day, at least, I hope to have the happiness of seeing you at Leopold's.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

P.S.—A thousand thanks for your letter of yesterday, which I have just received, and also the accounts from the Foreign Office; but as Lord Palmerston is at Brighton, I shall only be repeating what you will have heard before this can reach you, if I state them. What do you hear of the reported insurrection in Samogitia?*

[On March 30 the new Polish Commander-in-Chief, Skrzynecki, left Warsaw at the head of a body of 35,000 men, and attacked General Geismar at Waver. The Russians were completely surprised; 3,000 were taken prisoners, and 2,000 killed, and four pieces of cannon were taken. The Russians were again defeated on the following day under General Rosen, and suffered great losses.]

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday, April 13th, 1831.

The news from Poland, my dear lord, makes me very sad. I do not believe all the details as reported in the newspapers, but it is evident that we have been taken by surprise and beaten, also that the insurrection has broken out in Lithuania. These are two most deplorable facts. We have not, as yet, received any direct account of these events.

What have you to say about the debate of last night, and the *Times* of this morning? Neither at all please me. I saw Lord Aberdeen yesterday. He tells me

* The districts of the Vilno Government.

that the Duke continues to be strangely depressed and melancholy. As for Peel, he will let the others propose amendments, and confine himself to supporting them. Such, at least, he has himself declared will be his line of conduct.

Take advantage of this fine day, my dear lord; it is quite charming. I am sorry you will not come and drive with me in an open carriage.

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
April 13th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am not surprised that you should be affected by the Polish news. With every allowance that can be made for exaggeration, it is certainly very unfavourable for your army. To what extent it may be so in its further consequences, no satisfactory opinion can be formed till we receive more circumstantial accounts. The advance of the Polish army to Minsk, and even, as some of the accounts state, to Siedlec, would indicate a success of a very decisive nature; were it not for the possibility that, flushed by a first advantage, the Polish general may have been hurried on too far, and may, in his turn, afford to Diebitsch an opportunity of retrieving his losses. But where is Diebitsch? The whole operation seems to me nearly incomprehensible, except on the ground of his having mismanaged matters to a degree which his Turkish campaign gave no reason to expect.

I see nothing in what passed yesterday in the House of Commons to give ground for any uneasiness. Lord John's notice of the disposition of Government

to acquiesce in any strongly-expressed desire to keep up the present numbers, though against their own opinion, was, I am told, very well received. It was, of course, made a subject of taunt by those who found themselves deprived by it of a favourite mode of attack. As to Hunt,* it was neither with the expectation nor the desire of satisfying him, or men like him, that the measure was proposed, and the way in which the Tories cheered his attack is only an additional proof that they will stick at nothing that is most factious to gratify their malevolence.

I should like, of all things, to take a drive with you this fine day, but I shall be confined the whole morning at the levée, as there is to be a Council after it for the Recorder's report. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Saturday, April 16th, 1831.

We have no news, my dear lord. Have you any? How are affairs going on in Parliament? The Tories are becoming hopeful again. They declare themselves sure of being able to dispute every successive clause of the Bill. I hope their prognostics may turn out as did those anent the second reading. Lord Londonderry told me yesterday, as a positive and acknowledged fact, that the King would never consent to a dissolution. This, as it appears to me, is what is emboldening them so greatly. Do you know that the Dukes of Cumberland and Wellington have made it up? I had a little discussion with the

* 'Orator' Hunt, the radical M.P. for Preston.

former on this subject, which will amuse you when I can relate it to you.

I am diffident, my dear lord, and no longer ask you when I shall see you, although I desire it much. But I am loath to curtail your hour of exercise, for fresh air is really more essential to you than my society. If, however, you did think of calling, let me know the exact hour when I may expect you.

A thousand kind regards.

[On the motion for a Committee on the Reform Bill, April 19, General Gascoyne, M.P. for Liverpool, moved an amendment 'that the number of representatives for England and Wales ought not to be diminished.' The Ministry decided to meet the motion by a concession, which, however, did not conciliate the Opposition, and the adverse amendment was carried, the Government being defeated by eight votes.]

To Earl Grey.

April 19th, 1831.

How is your House of Commons getting on, my dear lord? The gossip that reaches me makes me uneasy. Pray reassure me. We are still without news from Russia, and, indeed, this is not reassuring, either. The world goes very ill, and the prospective good appears to be far distant. Is it true that they have offered the Belgian throne to Prince Leopold?

Adieu, my dear lord. Your time is precious, and I will only add my most friendly regards.

Downing Street,
April 19th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

All the reports that I have received represent the debate in the House of Commons last night as

having been very favourable to us. All the speeches against the Bill absolutely contemptible, and Fergusson's and Althorp's, particularly the latter, quite excellent. He took the right tone, and stated truly that, on the decision on this question, though brought forward on a special ground for the purpose of catching votes, the fate of the Bill really depended. You may, therefore, consider a crisis as having arrived, the result of which a few days, or perhaps hours, will show. We had another breeze last night in the House of Lords, which ended as usual.

I know nothing more about Poland than what I read in the papers. By some of these accounts, the Poles seem to have been in possession of Siennica, and even beyond it. Again I ask, where is Diebitsch? From the number of superior officers whose names are enumerated amongst the prisoners, the loss of Geismar must have been very great.

We have heard that two persons were to come (Villain XIV., I believe, one of them) to sound Leopold about the crown of Belgium, but I have not heard of their arrival.

I cannot look to the pleasure of seeing you before the dinner on Thursday, unless you could some time call here in the evening. God bless you.

Yours ever,

G.

[*April 19th*, 1831.]*

The Cabinet is now assembled, and till it is over I can say nothing. The crisis is arrived, and in two hours will be decided. In five minutes after you

* Added in pencil by the Princess. It should probably be dated *April 20th*.

went. I received Chad's despatches to the 13th. He mentions a report from Posen of a battle on the 7th and 8th, in which you were completely victorious.

G.

[The Cabinet, on the morrow after their defeat on General Gascoyne's amendment, which proved fatal to the Bill, decided on recommending a dissolution. After twenty-four hours' consideration, the King gave his consent to this. On the 21st the Government were again defeated (by 22 votes) in the House of Commons, on a motion for adjournment carried by the Opposition. On the 22nd, William IV. went down and hurriedly dissolved Parliament in person, with a view of preventing Lord Wharncliffe's Address in the Lords, against a dissolution, being carried.]

(*Secret.*)

April 21st, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Our fate is decided. *We continue Ministers.* More than this I cannot say at present, and this must be *secret*—at least, as coming from me. The King has behaved like an angel! Again, remember this is a secret.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Thursday, 5 o'clock [*April 21st*, 1831].

As perhaps I shall not dare to show you my gratitude at dinner, I must express it by writing, my dear lord. A thousand thousand thanks for your note. What excellent news! I was really discouraged up to the time of receiving your note; since then I am beside myself with joy.

I must do justice to the Duke of Cumberland by telling you that he was much annoyed at what happened yesterday, and said so to me quite openly. Do not rebuff him if he should make you any advance; far better accept this than abandon him to the enemy.

I had a visit from Aberdeen yesterday. They had filled up all the places, in prospect: either himself or the Duke for the Foreign Office—think how nice for us! *Au revoir*, my dear lord.

Most joyfully yours,

To Earl Grey.

Sunday morning, April 24th, 1831.

I am quite distressed, my dear lord, to have missed you yesterday. The truth is, that when I see no chance of a visit from you, I take very long drives, and rarely get home before seven o'clock. To-day I am thinking of going to Richmond at three. I hardly dare hope to see you before that hour, but to-morrow would it be possible? or must we be satisfied to meet at the Queen's ball? How much I shall have to tell you, and to ask you!

You have had a most brilliant success. Never was greater consternation seen than in the enemy's camp. I had a visit from the Duke of Wellington yesterday. He looked cross, and was very tart about the Government. However, he thinks the Opposition will gain at the new elections. The Duke of Cumberland, whom I saw yesterday, being no longer tipsy, was no longer so tenderly disposed towards Ministers. He was full of gossiping stories against you. Amongst the rest, a list of sixteen new peers you are about to

make. Indeed, nothing is more amusing than to listen to all the Tories are saying, and I assure you that during the last few days many have found themselves much out of their reckoning. I refer to those who had felt so certain of having to deal with a new Administration. To turn right about face, now, is embarrassing.

Adieu, my dear lord. I should like a chat with you, and to have a good laugh, for I own to having been mucha mused.

A thousand regards.

To Earl Grey.

Monday, 25th [April, 1831].

Not a line from you yesterday, my dear lord. Shall you write to me to-day? or shall I see you—which would be still better—and at what hour? It appears to me quite legitimate that I, too, should profit somewhat by the dissolution.

I dined yesterday at the Morleys', and met several Ultras. They are full of hope in regard to the elections. The Duke of Northumberland will subscribe £100,000, Lord Faversham his whole fortune, if necessary; the Duke of Rutland has backed out of it, declaring he has not a penny more to throw away. A central committee is to be established in London to direct the election campaign. Sir R. Peel has gone to stand for Staffordshire.* Such is my Ultra newsbudget.

What do you hear about our affairs, my dear lord? and what of the interview between Leopold and the Belgians? Has he promised to go and put them to

* He was elected for Tamworth.

rights? What do you say of M. Sebastiani's good faith, so brilliantly shown forth at Constantinople?

But it would be so much better to talk over all this. Still, write me a few lines, for I feel myself badly used when I see neither yourself nor your handwriting for three long days.

Yours sincerely and ever faithfully,

Downing Street,
Monday [*May 2nd*, 1831].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I had hoped to be able to call on you this morning, but it is impossible. I shall hope to be more fortunate to-morrow.

We have no news, except that the French Government have found that the representation of Guilleminot's* conduct was correct, and had determined to recall him. This you will probably have heard from Pozzo, as it had been communicated to him.

Good news from all quarters respecting the elections.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
G.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday, May 3rd, 1831.

Thank you much, my dear lord, for your note of yesterday, and the news you give me of the recall of M. Guilleminot, of which we had not yet heard. I wish the victim had been M. Sebastiani instead; but in any case it is a fitting act of reparation for his

* French Ambassador at Constantinople.

hostile conduct towards Russia; and it is, at the same time, honourable to the French Government. I am convinced, moreover, that it is largely due to the loyal and firm manner in which you have treated the affair throughout.

I received a letter from the Duke of Wellington yesterday, which, in confidence, I send on to you to read. (Pray return it by the bearer.) As he touches on your affairs, I thought it might not be without its use that you should know what he thinks. He paints the picture in very dark colours, but one must own that the apprehension is pretty general.

There seems to be a unanimous desire, and even hope, throughout the country, that you will use your victory to introduce some modifications into the Bill. You are well aware that these affairs neither concern nor interest me for themselves, and that if I repeat to you all that I hear, I am actuated solely by personal friendship in so doing.

If you should be able to come and see me to-day, my dear lord, could it be at six o'clock?

With a thousand kindest regards,

Downing Street,
May 3rd, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for the note which I have just received, and for the communication of the enclosure, which I return. The Duke of Wellington is a good judge of military operations, and I think there seems great reason in his present opinion. But we shall soon see. As to his opinion on what is passing here, it is that of a man who does not understand the

character of the times, and who thinks that public opinion may be subdued by power. If this attempt is made, and a violent struggle takes place in consequence of it, I will not answer for the consequences; but if the Reform is carried satisfactorily, I will answer for the peace of the country, and not only for its peace, but for its power and its prosperity.

The elections prosper, though the returns of Schedules A and B* give the Tories a majority at present. I have just had letters from Northumberland to tell me that Bell, notwithstanding the Duke of Northumberland's £100,000, has given up the contest. Howick therefore comes in without further trouble. What do you think of Lord Tankerville's having sent instructions to his agent to make Bell his first object, and Howick his second?

Lady Jersey's violence does us much less harm than the hollow friendship of Lady Cowper and Lady Tankerville.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

P.S.—I will call, if possible, a little before six.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Thursday, May 5th, 1831.

Here I am at Richmond, my dear lord; everything beautifully green, but pouring rain. I am much more quiet than I was in London, but quite

* In the first Reform Bill, Schedule A contained the names of the boroughs to be wholly disfranchised; Schedule B the names of those to be semi-disfranchised.

as inquisitive. Could you not feed this weakness a little?

How are things getting on? Your affairs appear to me to be prospering amazingly. I only regret to see how poor a chance Palmerston has.*

Is it true that the City dinner is postponed? I hope you are not made uneasy by the King's gout. What are you going to do Sunday? If fine, will you not come and see how both Richmond and I are looking? You would find your luncheon all ready.

Adieu, my dear lord, with very sincere regards.

Downing Street,
May 5th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A tormenting pain in my face, and an uncomfortable night, notwithstanding a large dose of laudanum, and general *malaise*, deprive me almost of the power of answering your kind note. And yet, in the midst of all this, I have not had a moment free from a succession of persecutors the whole morning.

We have no news, except that the cholera has got to Praga, and that both armies are suffering from it; and nothing can be worse than this. Sebastiani wants a *cordon sanitaire* to be established. There seems to be nothing more, certain, respecting the armies, except the Polish account, not at all concealing or diminishing the defeat and loss of General Sierawski near Lublin,† and his being obliged to recross the Vistula. On the other hand, Chad sends an account

* For re-election as M.P. for Cambridge University, which he had represented since 1811. Lord Palmerston lost his election, and was ultimately returned for Bletchingly (July 18).

† On April 17.

of the defeat of Rüdiger, but with considerable doubt as to its authenticity.

Nothing can be going better than the elections, except in the case of Palmerston, who has been hurt by the foolish conversation of those who think complaints of the Bill afford the best means of supporting those who are pledged to it. I am beset with people who endeavour to persuade me that it is from *you* that Lady Cowper has taken her tone. I need not say that I know this to be impossible, first from your regard for me, and next because you have too much sense not to be aware how mischievous such language must be.

I go to Holland House on Sunday. If it is a *very* fine day, and I am *very* well, and *very* free from business, I will endeavour to pay you a visit in my way.

Ever yours,

G.

P.S.—The preparations for the King's visit are only suspended till it is seen whether his gout will leave him the power of going to the City.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
May 6th, 1831.

I write to you to-day, my dear lord, to inquire about the pain in your face. I have suffered more from that than from any other pain in my life, so that I can truly sympathize for all you are undergoing. Cholera in both the camps! This is frightful, if true. What would lead me to doubt it is the eager haste of M. Sebastiani for a *cordon sanitaire*. Might it not be a mere pretext for the French army airing itself?

What you say with regard to insinuations made to you respecting my influence on Lady Cowper, proves to me that there are some persons who consider that you see me too frequently when you give me half an hour in the course of a week. I wish somebody would go and inquire of Lady Cowper what are her opinions, and then what are mine, on Reform. Moreover, I declare that I hold no opinion whatever on this question—certainly I never stated one; indeed, the only interest I take in English home politics is in so far as they regard your remaining Premier. Whatever shakes your power, distresses me; whatever confirms it, rejoices me. This is my Credo, and I have none other. So send the gossips to the right-about.

We are freezing with cold here, and meanwhile waiting for news. Good-bye, my dear lord; I hope you will be able to send me word you are better.

I can truly tell you that I feel a most sincere regard and compassion for you.

Downing Street,
May 6th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

My face is much better, and, thanks to laudanum, I had an excellent night. I shall not expose myself to the cold to-day, and another day's nursing will, I hope, set me quite right again. I have no news to-day. The elections are better and better. I told you yesterday I did not believe what was laid to your charge by Lady Cowper. I knew it to be impossible, nor was it necessary for you to assure me of your entire and undeviating kindness.

I rely on it with the most perfect confidence. A doubt would make me miserable.

I think it not unlikely that deaths occasioned by distress and bad food may be ascribed to cholera. But certainly the accounts speak of sixty in Praga, and of its being, if not in the armies, in their immediate vicinity. Lord Heytesbury also mentions its re-appearance at Moscow, and being within 200 miles of Petersburg. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday morning, May 10th, 1831.

Last night's party has so completely knocked me up, that I feel it will be impossible for me to dine at Holland House to-day. If you have not yet sent to say I am coming, pray leave it, my dear lord; but if your note has already gone, let me know, and on my way to Richmond I will leave a second note explaining why I am unable to appear. Further, pray tell me if you are dining there on Friday; if so, I will propose myself for that day. How tiresome the ball was! impossible to talk sensibly together for five minutes. But our present life is all so tiresome; we really see as little of each other as though you were at Howick. Pray send me some news—about the elections, about Poland, and France. I see Republicanism is at her tricks again, and that the Blue Riband is not at all to the taste of the hero.*

* 'The extra Blue Riband to Lord Grey is a gross impropriety, between ourselves.'—Letter from the Duke of Wellington to the Duke of Rutland, May 29, 1831: 'Despatches,' vii. 449.

I am so deadly tired that I can hardly write. How is your face getting on? The King's partiality for you goes the length of making him deny that you have one cheek fatter than the other. I am not quite so loyal.

Adieu, my dear lord. Do not forget me.

A thousand regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Thursday, May 19th.

Let us at any rate correspond, my dear lord, even though we do not get sight of one another; at least, neither need then imagine that the other is dead. Here, I live in the open air as much as possible, and think as little as possible of politics—so little that I do not know what is taking place, and now beg you to inform me.

Lord Aberdeen paid me a visit the day before yesterday. He approves of all you have done in Portugal, and only blames you for not having demanded satisfaction sooner of Don Miguel.* He further assured me that just before the late Ministry went out, they were themselves on the point of doing in Portugal exactly what you have done. Was there ever such impudence! With regard to Reform, he said that the Duke of Wellington is determined to make every effort to prevent party violence, but that if the Bill should be brought to the Upper House in its present form, it must be rejected; because, as it entails the destruction of the aristocracy, the said aristocracy would die with greater dignity now than two years hence. I answered

* For his ill-treatment of British merchants at Lisbon.

that I did not see the logic of his reasoning; for even if the chances were equal, I would not go and kill myself to-day out of fear of dying in two years' time. After all, such threats are mere rubbish, and I wager there will be many a bad cold and many a fit of indigestion when the day comes for voting against the Bill. The Duke of Cumberland tells me that the King weeps all day, and lies awake all night. These are truths, I suppose, *à la Cumberland.*

Shall you come to see me at Richmond? Why cannot you come one day and dine? The drive would give you a good night. Think it over. For instance, would Sunday suit?

Adieu, my dear lord, and do not forget me.

Downing Street,
May 20th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Not being able to see you, it did me good to see your handwriting at least, and I cannot sufficiently thank you for your very kind note. I cannot, however, make any return for it, having nothing to tell you that you will not hear from others, or that you would care about.

If the late Government had any intention of taking measures to bring Don Miguel to reason, all I can say is that there was not the slightest trace of it, any more than there was of anything done, or intended to be done, to stop the burnings and the tumults which, being begun in August, were in full activity when we came into office in November. Don Miguel, indeed, produced two letters from the Duke of Wellington and Lord Beresford, promising him support and assistance,

and perhaps it was in return for these that he engaged himself to behave more decently. But he certainly never did so, and though one felt almost ashamed of taking a strong measure against so pitiful an enemy, it was impossible to forbear any longer.

Your answer about the scheme of throwing out the Bill in the House of Lords is incontrovertible. It seems as if God has deprived these men of their understanding. If they could succeed, they would ensure their own destruction. But I entertain sanguine hopes that the Duke may be as much mistaken in his calculations as to the House of Lords, as he was with respect to the House of Commons. I trust there are amongst them a sufficient number with prudence enough to counteract these inconsiderate and violent men, and to prevent a collision (the effect of which must be fatal) with the House of Commons. A triumphant majority there, and the declared support of the King, will, I have no doubt, make a very great and decisive alteration. Nothing can be more cordial and sincere than the King in the support he gives us. I have had several long conversations with him, which I cannot describe better than by saying that, if I had suggested every word he uttered, it could not have been more gratifying to me. I am happy to say, too, that he is much better in health. He has had an abscess in his neck, which has broken, and, I have no doubt, will be of great use to him.

I am afraid it will be out of my power to dine with you on Sunday, nor can I, at this moment, say when it is likely that I may be able to call on you.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, May 27th, 1831.

MY DEAR LORD,

It seems so dull, never seeing you, and I am already getting somewhat tired of the country. My only hope now is of having a few words with you to-morrow at the Drawing-room, but this is worth very little. Pray write to me. You have no idea how happy it made me to see you looking so well the day before yesterday, and how rejoiced I was about the Garter. I always thought you were the man in all England most deserving of it. My husband is going to pay you a visit. I do not know why it should not be myself instead of him: the business would be quite as well done.

I sometimes see the Duke of Cumberland here. He is very sour, and does his best to pass his humour on to me. The newspapers are doing all they can to irritate us; but I have become hardened against such attacks, and always hold that so long as England only makes war on us after this fashion, we may take it very easily. I none the less sincerely reprobate such insulting language as we find in the *Courier*. However, it is the reality of enmity I care for, not the semblance. What is your news, my dear lord? Has Diebitsch still an army for fighting with, or even for retreating? It appears to me, at present, that opinions are not much united at Warsaw, and that the extreme party is getting the upper hand there.

The Ultra-Tories are making great preparations here: I really do not know on what they reckon—perhaps it is on finding Jacobins in the new Parlia-

ment. I trust they will be disappointed, and that your Bill may make its way surely and peacefully. Now I must say good-bye, for I am taking up your time without having anything really worth talking about.

Send me a few lines, for I am thinking so much about you.

Downing Street,
May 28th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

If anything could make up for my seeing you so little, it would be the kindness of the note which I received here from you yesterday. At the ball, too, you were most good-natured to me; but this has increased my regret at not having oftener the same pleasure. I think of you constantly, and always, if possible, with increased affection.

Nothing could be more gratifying, both as to the manner and the time, than the King's resolution to give me the Garter. It was entirely unsolicited by me, and I had declined, as you know (but not from any indisposition to appreciate the honour), when I first came into office. But I have no doubt that, with their usual spirit of misrepresentation, the Tories will give a totally different account of the transaction. As their hopes of success fail, their malignity seems to increase. It is painful for me to have such violence to encounter: my wish is peace, both public and private; but if they will not allow me to indulge this wish, I must prepare myself with resolution for the combat. The Duke of Cumberland is, I know, amongst the most furious, and threatens I know not

what in the House of Lords. But let him take care. I hope I shall never fail in the respect which I owe to the brother of the King, but there may be bounds to my forbearance. He and the Duke of Gloucester thought proper to show their enmity by not attending the Chapter of the Garter; they little think how completely this was a matter of the most perfect indifference to me. But if I was in the King's situation, I certainly should consider it as a mark of personal disrespect. But all these are miseries which it is only a waste of time to talk or think about.

I have often told you, what is the truth, that I have nothing to do with any of the newspapers, and disapprove, as much as you can do, many of the articles which appear even in those which are supposed to be friendly to the Government. With respect to the Poles the truth is—for it is in vain to conceal it—that their cause is so popular that the papers, looking to their circulation, are impelled by their interest to support it.

I shall see but little of you at the Drawing-room, but that little will be valuable to me, more especially if you make use of it to show me the same kindness as when we last met.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
May 29th, 1831.

Nothing could have been more unsatisfactory than yesterday, my dear lord; not two words of con-

versation at the Drawing-room, and yet it lasted till half-past five. I am half dead with fatigue, and in a very bad humour.

I quite agree with what you say as to the absence of the two royal Dukes from the Chapter of the Garter. It was a want of respect to the King, but his Majesty is more than indulgent to the Duke of Cumberland, and I believe that his dread of family quarrels makes him wink at many improprieties on the part of his brother. In truth, the King tires himself too much; and he will not live if he goes on in this way. It made me sad to look at him after the Drawing-room yesterday; and after that again he had his dinner-party.

What do you think of affairs in Belgium? and what says the King of Holland? It appears to me he is beginning to lose patience. The Prince of Orange, in his letters, does not seem sanguine. He tells me that the King is nervously irritable. Oh! what a long week this will seem to me, my dear lord. At least, do write to me. When I think of the Ascot Races, I then realize what immense changes have taken place; men, manners—all have changed. Is it true that cholera has broken out in one of the London hospitals?

Adieu. What with the rain of to-day and the Drawing-room of yesterday, I feel quite stupid.

A thousand affectionate regards.

Windsor Castle,
June 3rd, 1831.*

DEAREST PRINCESS,

After a fatiguing day, having gone from hence to the races at half-past twelve, from whence we did not return till half-past seven, I must, before I go to bed, sleepy and stupid as I am, say a single word to recall myself to your recollection. How I wish you could have been here, even at the expense of all the *ennui* that such parties I know inflict upon you!

We have hitherto but a small party, which does not contain much that can either interest or amuse. The only lady, except those who belong to the family and to me, is Lady Ely, whom I never knew before, and from the little I have seen of her, it does not seem that I should have had much to regret if I had continued to be deprived of the honour of her acquaintance. The men are the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Dorset, Lord Howe, and Lord Valetort, all the *bons tons*, and the usual appendages of the Court. To-morrow we do not go to the races. Thursday is the great day, and I hear there is to be a large party at dinner—amongst the rest, Lord and Lady Jersey.

Public news I have none, except that the Dutch King seems determined to do everything he can to prevent an arrangement in Belgium. I feel half inclined to withdraw altogether from the party, and leave you to settle all your Continental matters as you may. I conclude, from your army's not having made more forward movements, either that cholera, or want of provisions, or the interruption of its communica-

* From internal evidence, and also being answered by the Princess's letter of Thursday, 2nd, it is evident that this letter was misdated, It should be Tuesday, May 31st, 1831, not Friday, June 3rd.

tions by the insurgents,* must have impeded its operations. Chad sends an account of the cholera at Warsaw, which seems to me an alarming one. He says that, from April 23 to May 5, 2,580 patients under this disorder had been admitted into the hospitals; that of these 192 had recovered, 1,110 had died, and 1,278 remained sick. He adds, however, that it was diminishing daily.

I really am so sleepy that I must go to bed.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
June 2nd, 1831.

I feel much gratified, my dear lord, at your having remembered me in the midst of all your great doings, your fatigues, and your dissipation. I can see Windsor from my hill, and though I regret not being there with you, I find here a repose for body and mind which really suits me better than the troubled life imposed on you at Court.

At Almack's yesterday Lady Cowper, Lady Willoughby, and myself all came together—three relics of the late reign, who in those days always went to Ascot, and who now are almost the only members of the old set who are absent. It made me smile to think of it. At the present day it is Lord Grey and Lady Jersey, despite the lack of sympathy between them, who go.

By the way, tell me how your meeting went off,

* In Lithuania.

also how the King stands the fatigue he has to undergo; but above all, tell me when I can hope that you will find a day for coming to see me. Come and dine here; fix your own hour; the weather is so delightful that the drive must do you good.

I am very curious to know what will be your news from Brussels. It is an important moment, and great may be the consequences. I hope you are only joking when you propose leaving us in the lurch. Europe will get on strangely without you. Admitting that you consult nothing beyond your *amour propre*, surely you must feel flattered when you see how all the most important affairs, all the greatest events, centre round you. You alone can direct matters so as to preserve order and peace in Europe. Politics will go badly indeed when England decides on throwing up the game. We are absolutely without news—know not what to think; and for myself, I am in very low spirits.

Good-bye, my dear lord. Let me have news of you, and also of Lady Grey. How has she borne the fatigues of Court?

A thousand true and faithful regards.

Downing Street,
June 5th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

You must have thought me dead, and I am nearly so. At Windsor, the short time that I could find for writing of any kind was entirely occupied by the necessary answers to official letters. I wished for you every moment, and regretted more than ever the change which has separated me so sadly from your

society. For the rest, the time did not pass unpleasantly; the weather was beautiful, and as I am an amateur of races, the two days that we went to the course had an additional interest. But I liked better a long ride we took to Virginia Water. I had not seen it since I was at Eton, and was much struck with its beauties.

The King was as usual most kind and gracious. I only wish an enemy could have overheard my conversations with him, which were long and numerous, on the subject of the Reform Bill, and the approaching struggle in the House of Lords. The Queen's manner was equally gratifying, though I cannot suppose that she has not been in some degree infected by her *entourage*. She was particularly civil to Lady Grey, who made a great acquaintance with her.

There were large dinners every day; at one of them the Jerseys. I had met Lord Jersey in the morning on the stairs of the race-stand, when nothing passed but a cold and muttered 'How do you do?' At dinner, in so large a company, it was easy to avoid them both, and we had not even the communication of a bow. Since my return, I have been much amused by my Lady's* account of the King's attentions to her. She boasts having caused 'Lord Grey an uneasy night.' In truth, she did contrive after dinner to get possession of the King, and talked to him incessantly for an hour and a half, the Queen and everybody else having left him at her mercy. I sat at a little distance, and was much amused with the scene. The only interruptions to an unceasing strain of eloquence were the King's answers of, 'Yes, ma'am,' 'Exactly so,' 'Oh, of course,' 'Ma'am,

* Lady Jersey.

you're quite right,' which seemed to be uttered with an effort to keep himself awake. She was, however, in the seventh heaven, and, I hear, tells everybody that the King talked to nobody but her, and that I several times came near, but was taken no notice of. Poor woman! if she could but know what I heard of this the next day, her vanity would be a good deal mortified.

After all this gossip, I have no time for anything more. There are letters to-day from Ponsonby,* holding out hopes that things will end well in Belgium. I sincerely hope they may, but I confess I do not see my way through all this confusion. From Poland we have nothing new. Chad's accounts (Warsaw accounts) of the success of the Poles at Ostroleńka† do not correspond with the despatch of Diebitsch of May 17. If the armies were as they were represented to be, the position is a curious one, Skrzynecki being on the line of Diebitsch's communications, and Diebitsch on his. To risk such an advance must have been either a *coup de désespoir*, or great confidence in Diebitsch's weakness. There is some ground for the latter suspicion in a despatch from Lord Cowley,‡ who represents the Russian army as being in a '*deplorable condition.*' This is his expression. But where there is so much exaggeration, it is in vain to attempt to form an opinion. We must wait for events, and judge by the map. Our politics at home are *in statu quo;* except that I hear the Duke of Wellington is become very

* Lord Ponsonby had been sent on a special mission to the Provisional Government at Brussels, December, 1830.

† The Russians were defeated at Ostrolenka on May 26, but the Poles had to retire, and gained little by the victory.

‡ English Ambassador at Vienna.

violent, and that we are to be attacked on the first day.

I have not another moment. God bless you, dearest Princess. If I can escape from hence, and the weather is not bad, will you let me dine with you on Thursday at six? Once more, God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

Downing Street,
June 6th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

As I am afraid you will think I never send you anything but bad news, I must tell you that a letter has been received to-day from Chad, of May 31, enclosing an account of a general battle on the 26th and 27th, in which the Poles were completely defeated, and Skrzynecki had returned to Praga.

Ever yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Tuesday, June 7th, 1831.

MY DEAR LORD,

I begin by telling you what pleasure the end of your letter gave me, in your promising to come and dine here Thursday. I am delighted. The dinner shall be at six, as you desire, but I hope that you will arrive a little before, so that we may have time for talking. And, while on this subject, do propose to Lord Durham to come also and dine with us; it would be an opportunity for seeing his child, who must be domiciled somewhere in our neighbourhood, for I often

see him being taken out in the open carriage. I enclose a note of invitation, in case this suits you.

How much has taken place of late! In the first place, and what most concerns me—Diebitsch's success—indeed, it was time. But my heart bleeds to think of the number of brave men sacrificed on both sides. God grant this bloody struggle may soon end! Belgium seems in greater confusion than ever—at least, as far as concerns our relations with her. What is Leopold going to answer to the awkward proposal that the deputation is bringing him? He surely cannot take the oath they are commissioned to demand of him.

I have heard at least twenty versions of Lady Jersey's *tête-à-tête* with the King. She proclaims it far and wide—I have even heard of it from the country. A letter from Mrs. Arbuthnot from Walmer Castle, relating to a subscription to Almack's, shows me that they are still very sanguine in the enemy's camp. The Duke of Cumberland, too, declares that any compromise is out of the question, and that the Bill must be altogether opposed, tooth and nail. What blindness!

The Grand-Duchess* is expected to arrive in a week's time. She lands at Sidmouth. We shall go there shortly to receive her. I am delighted she does not intend coming just now to London. It will be far easier for me to manage the few days of attendance on her Imperial Highness in Devonshire, than would be the many troublesome weeks of entertainment were she to stay in London. She travels as Comtesse Romanoff, and wishes to preserve the strictest incognito.

* The Grand-Duchess Hélène, daughter of Prince Paul, brother of William, King of Würtemberg, and wife of the Grand-Duke Michael, brother of the Emperor Nicholas.

Adieu, my dear lord. I look forward greatly to Thursday—it will be very pleasant.

A thousand regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, June 10th, 1831.

MY DEAR LORD,

I enclose the correspondence about the Archbishop and the Abbé Grégoire.*

Again my thanks for the pleasure you gave me yesterday. I hope much you may be able to think of me again before your horrid Parliament reassembles.

The Duke of Cumberland has already been here this morning. There was a meeting of the Ultras yesterday, at which he was present. He was with the Duke of Wellington for some time, but I do not know what they may have decided on in their wisdom.

The Prince of Orange has written me a long letter, received this morning. He invokes all possible energy on the part of the Conference in general, and England in particular; and he represents as quite intolerable the continuance of the burdens now endured by Holland. I entirely agree with him as far as energy is concerned, and this is certainly the time for displaying it. To let the affair drag on seems an avowal of weakness quite unworthy of England. I reckon as much on your pride as on your wisdom. One must keep up one's dignity, in order to carry the point abroad, just as at home. And, indeed, each time that

* Monseigneur de Quélen, Archbishop of Paris, had refused the Abbé Grégoire, Bishop of Blois, the last sacraments and Christian burial, because of his having taken the oath to the 'Civil Constitution of the Clergy.'

you have stood on your dignity you have won the game. If you receive any news, be charitable and write it to me. To-day and to-morrow I am here all by myself. My husband is in town busy with despatches.

Good-bye, my dear lord. I regret yesterday—I desire another day like it. Such is life—one is never satisfied.

Downing Street,
June 11th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Before this can reach you, you will probably have heard of the arrival of Don Pedro off Falmouth.* The account came late last night from Lord Colchester, the captain of the *Volage*, in which ship the ex-Emperor came. He only stopped to deliver some letters at Falmouth, and then sailed to Cherbourg. The young Queen, Donna Maria, sailed at the same time in a French frigate, *Le Seine*. The two ships had orders to keep together, but the slow sailing of the *Seine* detaining ours, Don Pedro became impatient, and desired Lord Colchester to make the best of his way, which he did, leaving the *Seine* out of sight before the evening. The accounts of the revolution you will see in the papers. The young Emperor† is acknowledged for the present, but it does not seem likely that his reign will be long.

It is very odd that we have no further particulars of the battle of Ostrolenka. Chad sends an account

* Following on revolutionary movements at Rio Janeiro, Don Pedro had been compelled to abdicate the imperial crown of Brazil, April 7, 1831, in favour of his infant son, and had now come to England to join his daughter, the little Queen Donna Maria, and prepare for a vigorous attack on his brother, Don Miguel, in Portugal.

† His son, Don Pedro II. of Brazil.

that, according to a report which had been received from Diebitsch, the defeat did not appear to have been so decisive as had been supposed. But all the statements are very loose and unsatisfactory. I do not like the last accounts from Paris. They increase my fears that the vigorous measures which you recommend would not long be supported by all the members of the Conference. This is a consideration which must make one hesitate, though the appearance of doing so is, I own, very disagreeable. We could do everything that can be done at sea with our fleet, but that would not prevent a general conflagration on the Continent.

I think with the greatest pleasure of my visit of Thursday last, and with despair at having no prospect of being able to renew it at present. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

P.S.—Are you to be at the Queen's ball on Monday?

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
June 13th, 1831.

I shall not see you this evening, my dear lord, for I am suffering from a nervous attack, and the heat of the ballroom would annihilate me. I have just written to the Queen, begging her graciously to excuse me. I regret the few words we might have had together, so, to console myself, I am writing this.

There is one phrase in your last letter that I do not like. It makes me apprehend a want of vigour on your part with reference to the Belgian Question. If this helped to shield you from trouble I should approve

of it. But pray bear in mind what I say to you. You will be considered weak, which, as you own, would be very disadvantageous; and, all the same, you will not be able to avoid war. It will be a double victory for your adversaries, and this would distress me; for your renown is more precious to me than you have any idea of. The revolution in Brazil will do a great deal of harm in Europe. Indeed, I begin to think that in a few years' time there will be no more Kings in the world. Shall we be any better off in consequence?

I imagine, from what the Duke of Cumberland said, that they have determined on attacking you in the House of Lords on the first day of Parliament. I have taken a disgust for this Parliament beforehand; what a life they will lead you! I am altogether saddened; the world must go very much better before I can again feel in spirits, and at this moment things could not possibly be worse than they are. What are you doing with your Belgian deputies? To judge by the papers, they are taking up a great deal of your time.

Adieu, my dear lord. Writing to me is an act of charity. In days gone by I sent you news to Howick; treat me now as though I were 200 miles away—it will afford me, at least, some little consolation for not seeing you.

A thousand true regards.

CHAPTER V.

THE END OF THE POLISH INSURRECTION.

The New Parliament—Additions to the Cabinet; and the New Peers—France and the Netherlands—The Reference in the King's Speech to the Affairs of Poland—Death of Marshal Diebitsch; Marshal Paskievitch succeeds to the Command—The Introduction of the Second Reform Bill—The King of Holland and the Belgians—The Duke of Wellington's Speech—Prince Leopold elected King of the Belgians—Dinner at Northumberland House—Don Pedro in England—Count Orloff—Disunion of the Tories—The Grand Duchess Hélène—The Duchesse de Berri's Journey—The Second Reading of the Reform Bill—William IV.'s Coronation—The House at Sheen—Tactics of the Opposition in the Commons—The Opinions of the Duke of Wellington—The King of Holland's Refusal of the Eighteen Articles—King Leopold—M. Lafitte—The Bishop of London and Reform—The King of Holland invades Belgium; French Troops cross the Frontier—Sir Edward Codrington ordered to the Downs—King Leopold defeated at Tirlemont—Occupation of Belgium by French Troops—The Dutch retire—Arrival of M. Niemcewicz; his Interview with Lord Grey—The Duke of Wellington's Visit—The Insurgents at Witepsk—The Massacres at Warsaw—General Baudrand's Mission—Report of the Committee on the Reform Bill—The French retire from Belgium—Count Capo d'Istria in Greece—The King's Speech at the Coronation Dinner—The Russians take Warsaw—The Third Reading of the Reform Bill—The Paris Mobs—Civil War in Portugal—Death of Lord Durham's Son—The Reform Bill introduced into the Lords—The Second Reading rejected—The Grand Duchess Hélène—The Vote of Confidence in the Commons—The Riots at Derby and Nottingham—Prorogation of Parliament—The Twenty-four Articles on the Affairs of Belgium—The Riots at Bristol.

[The new Parliament assembled June 14, and the Reformers proved to be in a great majority.]

June 14th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just been adding two members to the Cabinet—Lord J. Russell and Stanley*—and making

* Chief Secretary for Ireland; afterwards Earl of Derby (1851).

five peers—Sefton, Agar Ellis, Kennaird, Lord Fingall, and Lord Leitrim. Nobody, I think, can object to these names, and it may be taken as a hint that more will be made if necessary.

I think there is now a chance that things may turn out well in Belgium, though Falck* and his employers will do all they can to embroil matters. If I could prove what is said—that they have made a proposition to France to divide the Netherlands—I should hold myself absolved from all obligations of every kind to Holland.

This is only for yourself, and you had better say nothing about the new peers, even though it is no secret, till you hear it from others. I suppose I am never to see you again.

Ever yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
June 16th, 1831.

Half an hour before receiving your note, my dear lord, the Duke of Cumberland had come to tell me of the nominations of which your letter speaks. He did not seem inclined to find fault with any except that of Lord Fingall, as being a Catholic. I am very much pleased at your two additions to the Cabinet.

I really do not believe the King of Holland can have made overtures to France in view of a dismemberment. You will find this to be a pure invention. The Prince of Orange continues writing me letters full of regrets, and apprehensions lest public opinion should force the King to have recourse to

* Dutch Minister in London.

extreme measures against the Belgians. One must own that the King's position is most perplexing. My husband has just come back; he is much pleased at his interview. He tells me you and he understand one another perfectly on all matters. This gives me the sincerest pleasure. I am frightened to death about the cholera. I do entreat of you to be most vigilant.

If the Grand-Duchess should not arrive before to-morrow, I shall certainly go to the State concert, and we could have a few minutes of talk together. Perhaps you could come to Hanover Square to-morrow at six; I shall be there. Pray try and manage this, for we should then have a little time for talking.

A thousand kind regards and best wishes. After next week you will stand in need of the latter; and may ill-luck—I will say no more—attend your enemies!

[Parliament was to be formally opened on June 21. The following letter evidently refers to the wording of the King's Speech.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
*Saturday, June 17th,** 1831.

What I wished to say to you, my dear lord, regarded just one single word, namely the word 'war,' which you propose making use of in reference to Poland. In thinking over the paragraph, such as you read it to me, it strikes me that this particular word, following upon 'civil commotions'—the term employed to characterize the recent events in Italy—would imply that the Polish affair is of a different order to these.

* The date should be the 18th.

In point of fact, the cases are identical. For it is an insurrection in Poland, just as it was an insurrection in Italy. The word 'war' was never made use of in any official act by England relating to the Greek business; and, strictly speaking, this word can only be applied to the acts of two belligerent Powers. The respective positions of Poland and Russia are quite different, the Emperor of Russia having been acknowledged by the treaties Sovereign of that country, and, consequently, the term 'war' is not applicable in the present instance. Further, since it is most important that you should furnish no pretext of quibble to your enemies, and that this expression would most certainly be seized upon with eagerness by them to draw you into an embarrassing discussion, I judge it would be to your own interest even to avoid making use of it. The word 'contest,' or the more general designation of 'unfortunate events,' might be substituted for the word 'war.' 'Contest' would embody the same idea, but would not give rise to the same inconvenient equivocation as 'war.'

Pardon me, my dear lord, for thus giving you my opinion. I felt so touched by the confidential and friendly way in which you spoke to me yesterday, that I do not hesitate to tell you all that is in my mind. I assure you that no one can appreciate more entirely than I do the delicacy and generosity of the confidence you have placed in me, and I look upon it as one of the many valued proofs of your friendly feeling towards us. Only grant me the word 'contest' in the place of 'war,' and I shall be eternally grateful to you. You see all this was too long a story for telling in public—besides which, I was admiring your 'Garter'

all the time. I quite agree with Lady Cowper—I never saw any order more becomingly worn. But I really wonder why I was so much pleased.

They told me yesterday that the Duke of Wellington had an attack of fever, and had been bled; but that, dead or alive, he would have his dinner-party today.

Adieu, my dear lord. One word, pray, in answer to my petition for *one word.* You have no idea what pleasure you will give me by granting what I ask.

Most affectionate regards.

[Lord Grey's note in answer has not been preserved. That Princess Lieven's suggestion, however, was adopted by him is proved by the following letter, as well as by the text of the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament on the preceding day. It runs as follows:

'The assurances of a friendly disposition, which I continue to receive from all Foreign Powers, encourage the hope that, notwithstanding the civil commotions which have disturbed some parts of Europe, and the contests now existing in Poland, the general peace will be maintained.'

Marshal Diebitsch died (as the medical account certified) of cholera on June 11, in his camp at Kleczew, near Pultusk. Marshal Paskievitch succeeded him in the command of the Russian armies in Poland.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday, June 22nd, 1831.

Your note of Monday only reached me yesterday, my dear lord. I thank you for all that it contains. The fact itself is a great satisfaction to me, and it is enhanced by my being indebted to you for the same. The gratitude I owe you causes me a real pleasure. I have heard nothing of what took place yesterday

except about the Speech from the Throne. I am curious to know if the Tories found anything in it to criticise. My judgment sees nothing to find fault with. The leaders of that party whom I met at Lady Ravensworth's appeared to me sad and discouraged.

My husband is ill, and cannot move; this postpones our departure for Devonshire, which I think cannot take place this week. The death of Diebitsch will cause no embarrassment in our army, for Paskievitch had already been given the command.

Good-bye, my dear lord, I am thinking much of you, and my best wishes attend you. You will see that your Parliament will, after all, work much more easily than you had imagined; but what is Belgium going to do? and, above all, what is France going to do?

A thousand kindest regards.

[The second Reform Bill was introduced by Lord J. Russell on June 24, and leave was granted after one night's discussion.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Thursday, June 23rd, 1831.

I was distressed, my dear lord, to see that your first sitting in the House of Lords had lasted until three o'clock in the morning. I really feel quite tired and ill in sympathy with you, and only hope that your adversaries suffered in proportion. What do you think of the aspect of the House of Commons? It appears to me the attack was very weak; but they say that the Opposition benches were well filled.

My husband is still here and, feeling very unwell,

he knows nothing of what has taken place in London about Belgium. But what I happened to hear yesterday, during the short time I was in London for the meeting at Almack's, distressed me much. We shall not escape from our difficulties by giving in to the Belgians, who have always treated us with insult, and by showing injustice to the King of Holland, who has always paid deference to the propositions of the Conference, trusting to its good faith and sense of justice. Moreover, in admitting that almost every sacrifice ought to be made for the maintainance of peace, one sacrifice is impossible—namely, that of honour. Were we to yield now to the Belgians, this could not be otherwise than gravely compromised. For long past I have had my fears on this head, and have also taken occasion to express them; we shall end by having the double evil of both war and dishonour. However, I still hope things are not so bad as the fear expressed yesterday by the diplomatists would seem to warrant; and I wait for you to give me some light on the subject.

Adieu, my dear lord. How angry I feel at your Parliament, and how I wish you were living quietly, keeping early hours, and coming sometimes to Richmond to rest your brain! But when will this be?

A thousand regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
June 25th, 1831.

I have this moment received your letter of yesterday,* my dear lord, and am very sorry to hear of

* Missing.

the death of the poor little child.* Anything that distresses you gives me pain, just as all that gives you pleasure rejoices me. You are wrong to blame me for Wednesday; it is all very well fixing an hour for Bülow, but a very different thing with regard to the Prime Minister. I was only able to stay in London from two till five; you were at the Levée, and I was obliged to be at Almack's at half-past three, where I remained till close upon five. From there I went straight back to Richmond, having left my husband that morning very unwell. I was again in town yesterday, but what hope had I of seeing you, except at the Drawing-room, where you never came? On leaving the Palace, about five o'clock, I was only too thankful to get off my dress, and get into the carriage to return to Richmond. If you would let me know any day when you could call in Hanover Square at eleven or twelve o'clock, I would meet you very punctually. And, indeed, I wish much to see you again before setting out for my country visits. Or shall I call on Lady Grey between eleven and twelve, and see you in this way? Name your day.

I have just run through the *Times*, but I looked in vain for the paragraph to which you draw my attention in the Duke of Wellington's speech. To me it seems that he approves of all you are doing, and exhorts you to persevere; such also would be the desire of your friends. I spoke to the Duke of Wellington yesterday at the Drawing-room. He told me that his party was very strong in the Upper House, and that all the various shades had now become of a single hue. He regrets much the death of Diebitsch, and was some-

* A grandson, the child of Lady Caroline Barrington.

what concerned about it. In fact he appeared to me calm rather than irritated, but I thought he looked ill. Keep well yourself, my dear lord. My poor husband is still unwell—at least, he thinks so, and will not stir out of his room.

Good-bye; we shall certainly not leave before Tuesday or Wednesday.

A thousand kind regards.

[On June 4 the Belgians elected Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg King. The London Conference, on June 27, then issued a new Protocol, containing Eighteen Articles, which gave Belgium more favourable boundaries, and made the country responsible for its own debt, and only for a share of that which had been contracted conjointly with Holland. On this, Prince Leopold accepted the crown, though his acceptance was not formally published till July 12.]

Downing Street,
June 27th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have been very ill for the last three days with the influenza, and am still a great wretch; but I must, if possible, be in the House of Lords to-morrow. I have not been out of the house since I last wrote.

I hope you do not disapprove of the terms on which Leopold has accepted, and that you are relieved from your apprehensions that anything dishonourable would be acquiesced in. The Articles appear to me just for both parties, and if peace can be maintained on this ground, it surely is more than could have been expected when we undertook the Government. I am sorry to hear that Matuscewitz has been declaiming violently against your word 'contest.' Nothing, it seems, but the word 'revolt' could have satisfied him. Not being

able to go out of the house, I have not seen Don Pedro. I hear he means to bring the young Queen here. What will the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen say to this if it should happen? You could not fail to observe the anxiety shown by both to support Don Miguel.

It is an age since I saw you, and I cannot write as I should talk to you. Let me know when you are likely to be in town, and, if possible, I will call on you. Are you to be at the concert on Wednesday?

God bless you.

G.

To Earl Grey.

June 29th, 1831.

MY DEAR LORD,

I never was at so dull a dinner as yesterday at Northumberland House. Nobody but Wynns, and Clives, and Amhersts. In short, not a soul to speak to, just when I was hoping to gather up something interesting to tell you to-day. So now I have to count on something from you. You will tell me how you are, for I am really more anxious about your health than about your visit to me. You looked so unwell yesterday, that it made me uneasy. Shall you be at the concert this evening? Do come there for a little. Pray take care of yourself, and do not forget me.

Adieu, my dear lord.

P.S.—If you should be pretty well, and have a little spare time, I do not give up all hope of seeing you in Hanover Square. I scarcely expect it; and it is only a bare chance I cling to.

Downing Street,
June 29th, 1831.

MY DEAREST PRINCESS,

I came home from the Levée without the power of thought or action, and have been lying on the sofa ever since—I could do nothing else—in the hope of being able to get through my Cabinet dinner, with sufficient will left to go afterwards to the concert, where the great pleasure I have to look to is that of seeing you. I have no news. The King looks well, and seems much pleased with everything that has been done. Don Pedro had his audience, but I did not see him.

From Chad's letters, quoting the reports made by Count Orloff,* and an account sent by a surgeon of the name of Koch, who attended and examined him after death, it appears rather uncertain whether Diebitsch died of cholera. What have you heard of it? Is it true that the French have opened the question of Poland in their late communications with your Government? It seems probable—with a view to the opening of the Chambers. My daughter Elizabeth † came to town quite unexpectedly last night; which is a great pleasure to us, though she is to stay only a week. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

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* Count Alexis Orloff had arrived at the Russian camp from St. Petersburg the day before Marshal Diebitsch's death. He was the son of the Orloff who had taken an effective part in the assassination of the Emperor Paul (father of Nicholas), and the grandson of the Orloff whom Catharine II. had raised from the ranks, in reward for his services connected with the death of her husband, Peter III. One account said that Diebitsch had poisoned himself.

† Lady E. Bulteel.

To Earl Grey.

Salisbury,
Thursday, June 30th, 1831.

Only a few lines, my dear lord, to remind you to write to me. You can imagine how pleasant it was to receive a letter in the depths of the country from you. I hope you have been dreaming of Paganini. His playing enchants me. Pray do not say you don't care about it—it would be vandalism.

France has made overtures to my Court with respect to Poland. This was the Emperor's answer: 'As soon as order shall have been restored in our Polish provinces, an act of general amnesty to its inhabitants shall be proclaimed.' I had a few minutes' conversation with the Duke of Wellington yesterday, and afterwards with Lord Wharncliffe. The former continues to assure me that he will not deviate from the line of moderation he has adopted; that he preaches this to all his party, and, indeed, that it is the only conduct proper for the Peers. Lord Wharncliffe complains bitterly of the divergence of opinions, the impossibility of coming to an agreement on any single point, and of the absurdity of people who concede nothing. Such is my little budget of news.

Adieu, my dear lord; get rid of your cough, and get back your good looks. Pray write to me, and send me plenty of news—but not after Saturday.

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
July 1*st*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter from Salisbury, and cannot sufficiently thank you for this proof of your kind remembrance. It is most sincerely and cordially returned. I think of you constantly, and regret more than ever the loss of that daily intercourse which contributed so much to the happiness of my life. Now no longer my own master, I can do nothing that I wish to do. Beset with unreasonable and discontented people, who, instead of endeavouring to diminish the difficulties of my situation, think only of turning them to their own advantage, I sigh after the quiet which I enjoyed before I was placed in my present situation.

We have no news of any kind. Nothing has yet been heard from Brussels; nor has anything arrived from any other part of the world in addition to what you knew when you left London.

In the House of Commons last night* a division took place, which was satisfactory in proving that there was no disposition to press the Government with unreasonable proposals of retrenchment. It was also satisfactory from the bad figure made by Dawson and Goulbourn. In general our friends there have taken a much better tone. Sir James Graham† is universally acknowledged to have made a most excellent speech, and Stanley never fails. Being now in the Cabinet, I have no doubt he will very soon place himself virtually, though not ostensibly, in the decided lead

* June 30. The first reading of the Irish (Reform) Bill.
† First Lord of the Admiralty.

of the House of Commons. If they get into a fair contest, I am as confident he will be found superior to Peel.

My cough is not much better, and I passed a most wretched night. I am going, notwithstanding, to dine at St. James's, at a dinner given to Don Pedro. You must forgive me, but I cannot like Paganini. He seems to me merely a player of monkey tricks on the fiddle. It is not music. And when I am told of the extraordinary difficulty of what he does, I can only say that I wish that it was impossible.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday, July 6th, 1831.

A thousand thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of Friday, received at Sidmouth. It gave me the greatest pleasure. I came back here last night, very well but very tired. I was enchanted with my Grand-Duchess. She is good to look at and to listen to; pretty, witty, and charming. Do you dine on Sunday at Lord Palmerston's, and could we not meet there? I shall be in town to-morrow, only for two hours, and for shopping, but too early for the least chance of seeing you. But I wish you would send me some news.

What do you think is going to happen in Belgium? What do you think of the Duchesse de Berri's expedition?* And how far are you satisfied with your

* The Duchesse de Berri had left England, and gone up the Rhine to Metz, attended by Marshal Bourmont. She afterwards attempted to excite a civil war in La Vendée, in favour of the Legitimist cause.

House of Commons? You see I want to know a great deal. It appears to me that the next eight or ten days will be full of varied events, for on all sides the impending questions must soon be settled. Meanwhile, I hope you have got rid of your cough, for I see your name as at all the parties. What beautiful weather you had yesterday!

Good-bye, my dear lord; I am impatient to see you again, and beg of you to write to me.

A thousand kindest regards.

[The second reading of the Reform Bill, in the Commons, was carried, July 7, by a majority of 136.]

Downing Street,
July 7th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I was glad to see your handwriting once more. I had begun to fear that you had been carried off by the cholera. It rejoices me to hear, on the contrary, that you are come back in good health. This weather must make everybody well who is not obliged to attend Parliament. You see our majority has fulfilled my expectations, though I did not think the enemy would have been able to bring so many voters to the post. Peel, I hear, made a very bad speech.

The news yesterday from Brussels was not good, and there seems to be too much reason to fear that an active and turbulent minority, aided by French agitators, may prevail over the wishes of a large majority of the people. However, they still write sanguinely as to the result, though the majority in favour of Leopold and the Propositions may be small. This does not signify if it be true that the majority of

the people of Brussels, of the army, of the Civic Guard, and of the population of the provinces, are in favour of the proposed arrangement. You will have seen in the papers that we are to have a coronation, which I shall make as short, as simple, and as little expensive as possible. It will probably be on September 22, the day of the coronation of George III.

I am treating about a house at Sheen; if I take it, I conclude you will leave Richmond. The only difficulty is the price; but as I never yet resisted temptation, I suppose I shall give way, contrary to all considerations of prudence. I am unfortunately obliged to attend a dinner in the Egyptian Hall, on Lord John Russell's receiving the Freedom of the City, on Saturday.

Ever yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
July 8th, 1831.

My letter begins, my dear lord, with the subject with which you end yours—the house at Sheen. What a capital idea! How thankful I am it should have been proposed to you, and that you are inclined to carry it out! Pray keep me informed as to the progress of the negotiation. It interests me even more than the news from the Continent, for which we are so impatiently waiting. All the same, I am still somewhat curious to know the vote of the Congress in Brussels, and the result of the elections in France.

They tell me that even at Court the feeling has become warlike. If such be the case, we certainly shall

have war. But it is always well to be able to say that everything was done to avoid it. How sorry I am not to meet you at dinner to-morrow! I was pleased with what I saw of Don Pedro; what did you think of him? You had a splendid majority. I have not seen any Tories since, so I do not know what they say of it; but it appears to me that the House of Lords cannot possibly continue to reject what has so unequivocally obtained the consent of the House of Commons.

Good-bye, my dear lord. Take the house at Sheen; but have you been to see it? I hope not, and that this will force you to come and beg a dinner of me one of these days.

A thousand regards.

D. LIEVEN.

[On July 12 Lord J. Russell moved that the House should go into Committee upon the Bill. The Committee lasted for forty nights, and did not conclude its labours till September 7.]

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday night, July 13th, 1831.

The conduct of the Opposition, my dear lord, is both senseless and despicable. Surely the debate of last night in the Lower House must show the Peers only too plainly that they will have nothing to count upon there. What did you say on the subject?

My dinner-party yesterday went off very fairly, though we had little that was homogeneous in the company. We had only the Cowpers and the Duke of Wellington. During dinner nothing but general topics were discussed; afterwards I had a short con-

versation with his Grace. He repeated to me that he was more than ever resolved to maintain the system of moderation he had adopted ; that he felt no hostility towards the Government, though he had no love of Reform (on this subject he touched very lightly) ; that with regard to foreign politics, so long as he should have no cause for doubting that Ministers were keeping to the straight course, he should give them his support ; and that he had reason to believe all would go well on this head. My answer to him was, that not only had we no complaint to make, but, on the contrary, that we had everything to say in praise of the present Government, and that, with regard to Russian affairs, we had always been treated loyally and with consideration. He then instanced to me the Ministerial newspapers. These, I said, did not concern us ; we held rather to facts, and what consequently was really important to our negotiations and patent of purpose. My answers seemed to satisfy him, and I assure you that I found him both amiable and reasonable on all points. I trust he may continue so.

I am counting the days till Monday, my dear lord ; pray assure me that you will come that day ; it will be the greatest treat I have had for a long time.

A thousand kindest regards.

July 14th, 1831.

A thousand thanks for your kind note, dearest Princess. It is the best substitute, but still a poor one, for not seeing you. Nothing could be better for *us* than the conduct of the Opposition the other night. I hear already facts which prove the impression it has

made on the public. Thompson, the City member, will certainly lose his seat for having voted in the first division, and the evidence of popular feeling, thus manifested, ought to correct the delusion into which I am told our opponents were falling, that the public were beginning to cool on this subject. Besides, it has created a good deal of division in the Opposition, and the violent people are not at all reserved in their complaints of Peel.

The Duke of Wellington has, certainly, acted hitherto very fairly and moderately; but I do not, on that account, rely on his abstaining from striking a blow at us, if an opening should be given him. On my part I have shown, and shall continue to show, every disposition to a conduct equally moderate and forbearing. I wished him to attend the Council for the coronation, but he declined. The Duke of Cumberland came, and looked as sulky as a bear; and I shall not be surprised if he endeavours to throw difficulties in the way of the reductions in the ceremony which are proposed.* He can have no object but annoyance; and he had better take care that he does not, in the event, bring more difficulties on himself than he expects to inflict on others.

So the King of Holland is to refuse.† *Tant pis pour lui.* There is business in the House of Lords on Monday which I must attend, and I cannot at present fix a time for going to Sheen. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

* £240,000 had been expended at George IV.'s coronation; the Government had determined in the present instance to avoid all reckless extravagance.

† The conditions contained in the Eighteen Articles, which had been accepted by the Belgian Congress, July 9.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Sunday, July 17th, 1831.

As I had hoped to meet you, my dear lord, yesterday at Kew, I did not write. I am so sorry you were not able to come. I really required some consolation for the tedium, the dulness, and the heat of a day out of town, spent in two small, crowded rooms. We have not met since your interview with my husband, and I have longed to tell you how much it pleased him. At the risk of repetition, I must assure you again how great is the pleasure I feel at everything that proves satisfactory to my Court, and that is brought about by your instrumentality. If you have heard anything about the cholera at Petersburg, pray send me the particulars, for I feel very uneasy.

Prince Leopold came to see me the day before he left.* I was extremely well satisfied by all he said to me. No one could realize the position with greater wisdom, and he has much sound common-sense. He is entering on a career which he knows to be full of peril and difficulty. Indeed, he has my earnest good wishes for success. What is going to be the last word from the Hague? I am very curious and uneasy. Yesterday the Queen's sister† talked to me at length on the subject. She is indignant at the way the King of the Netherlands has been treated. She is all fire and flame against the Conference, and against Leopold; and the Queen herself is of the same mind.

I came across several ultra-Tories yesterday. The most violent, such as the Duke of Cumberland, are

* For Belgium. † Ida, Duchess of Saxe-Weimar.

very angry at Peel's conduct. He says that the party does not want Peel, and that Peel owes all his importance to the party; that if they abandon him, it would then soon be seen what an insignificant fellow he was. Lord Mansfield is persuaded that Parliament will be adjourned as soon as the Bill has passed the Commons; but that will not be under four weeks at earliest. The Duke of Wellington yesterday was, as usual, both amiable and moderate in his tone.

When shall I see you again, my dear lord? When shall you come to Sheen? When shall you come and dine at Richmond again? I thirst for a long talk with you.

A thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Tuesday, July 26th, 1831.

Although I would not insult you, my dear lord, by supposing you capable of forgetfulness, I call to your mind that we expect you at dinner here to-morrow. I fancy half-past six is the hour you prefer, but give me your orders if you wish it earlier, since our general hour is later. I am looking forward with the greatest pleasure to seeing you here. The weather is lovely. We shall have the enjoyment of the terrace. What a gasconade the speech of the King of the French was!*

Adieu, my dear lord; a thousand kind wishes. Now do not disappoint my pleasant hopes for to-morrow.

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* At the opening of the newly-elected Chambers.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, July 29th, 1831.

Do you still hold to your good intentions for Sunday, my dear lord, and shall you come early that day to Richmond, so that we can have a walk together? Do you sleep at Sheen, or at the Star and Garter? If at the latter, you may commission me about rooms. I went to look at your house yesterday, and thought it charming. The contempt with which you treated Lord Londonderry yesterday delighted me greatly. I am certain that even his own party will have approved of it.

Once more my best thanks for the pleasure you gave me on Wednesday. You must be kind again, and begin by dining here next Sunday.

A thousand kind regards.

Downing Street,
July 30th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am going to Sheen this evening after dinner to stay there to-morrow; but I cannot dine with you, as Lady Grey goes alone with me. Perhaps you will call during your drive in the morning. I had intended to avoid the City fête, and to stay till Tuesday, but they tell me I must submit to the bore of this ceremony. I know nothing that you will not hear from other quarters. They say that there is, after all, an expectation that Lafitte will not be chosen President;*

* Of the Chamber.

but all the appearances are, I think, very unfavourable for the continuance of Périer's Administration.

Ever most affectionately yours,

GREY.

[*July 30th*, 1831.]*

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I had already sent a note, when yours arrived, to say that I cannot dine with you to-morrow, but that I am going to Sheen to-night to stay till Monday. I could not leave Lady Grey alone.

Londonderry was furious at my refusing to answer him. I forgot to tell you that yesterday a Bishop (London) made a speech for reforming the Church, in which the principles of Reform were as strongly laid down as they could have been by me, which must have carried dismay into the ranks of the Tories.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Thursday, Aug. 4th, 1831.

You are getting a very bad habit, my dear lord, of neglecting me. Four long days, and I have heard nothing from you. You said you would write, and you have not done so. Try to bear me in mind—send me also some news.

Is it true that the French are carrying off the Portuguese fleet? Also that France will only acknowledge Leopold on condition that the fortresses be dismantled? These are two very grave matters. I am

* Without date. In pencil by the Princess is added 'July 26,' but from internal evidence it must be Sunday, July 30.

waiting with the greatest impatience for news from Poland. Before three days are over we must have something decisive. I am happily no longer sensitive to the articles in the *Courier*. Actual facts will stop their mouths. At all events, *you* are not our enemy, and the thought of this enables me to bear much that is disagreeable elsewhere.

I am now quite alone here. My husband is in town all day. I find it somewhat dull, but it is a good rest for me. You are neither dull nor resting, and this last is bad.

Adieu, my dear lord; when shall I see you?

[The King of Holland, after bitterly protesting against the Eighteen Articles in the beginning of August, marched his troops across the Belgian frontier. King Leopold at the time was engaged in a tour through his new dominions, and was entirely unprepared for war. At the first news of hostilities, a French army under Marshal Gérard marched into Belgium, and the English fleet appeared in the Scheldt.]

Downing Street,
Aug. 5th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Never imagine that I can forget you. But I really have been so harassed for the last five days that my life is a burden to me. I mean, if possible, to go to Sheen to-night, and to stay till Sunday, when I must be in town for a meeting of the Cabinet. In that case I shall hope to see you on Saturday morning. But this is very uncertain, and the odds are that I shall be kept here.

This last affair in Holland supersedes everything else for the moment. My indignation at the conduct of the Dutch is extreme. I trust the Conference will

follow the course which its duty prescribes. In fact, we must consider the measures which it will be right for us to take, and which will not be slow in following the arrival of Sir Edward Codrington in the Downs. When shall we be able to talk of these matters? God bless you.

Ever yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Sunday, Aug. 7th, 1831.

I passed two hours yesterday, my dear lord, in the Tory headquarters. The Duke of Wellington talked to me for a long time; he is very much concerned at all that is taking place. He openly blames the King of the Netherlands, and thinks that Leopold could not have done otherwise than turn to his neighbours for help. The promptitude with which the French have answered his appeal proves, however, according to him, what a tempting morsel Belgium has all along been to France. Leopold, who yesterday was not even acknowledged by France, and was not to be so (as he well knew) until the dismantlement of the fortresses was both agreed upon and accomplished, now finds himself all of a sudden the close ally of France, and that even before they have recognised him as King. Once in possession of the fortresses, France will not give them up in a hurry; and one may look upon Belgium from the present as virtually in the power of France. All this, my dear lord, did the Duke of Wellington say to me. He seemed most deeply concerned; but the other Tories were rather

triumphant than otherwise. They only appeared to look on these events as being likely to entail serious embarrassment and complications for your Government, and to rejoice thereat in anticipation. Not so the Duke of Wellington—he was depressed and anxious; but he repeated again, that if only we had unity of purpose and action, all might yet be well. I was anxious to write you this little bulletin, of which my husband will be the bearer. The Princes and Princesses are open-mouthed on the subject of Belgium; and the Queen, according to what the Duchess of Gloucester told me (she had left her only yesterday morning at Windsor), is in floods of tears.

Good-bye, my dear lord; when shall we be able to go on an excursion together? Do you sleep at Sheen to-night?

A thousand regards.

East Sheen,
Friday night [*Aug.* 12*th*, 1831].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I came here to-night feeling as if I had not an hour's life in me from the exhaustion of the House of Lords, the heat of which was greater than anything I ever felt. I think I am better already. I must see you to-morrow; shall I call on you, or will you call here? As you always drive out, perhaps the latter will be more convenient, and you may come at any hour, as, if I do not go to you, I shall be at home the whole morning. Will you have the goodness to tell the Prince, who expressed a wish to have some conversation with me, that I am at his orders at any hour

to-morrow after eleven, or on Sunday before I go to town for the Cabinet, which meets at two.

If the Dutch bombard Antwerp, I will not leave a Dutch ship on the sea. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

[On August 11 King Leopold was completely defeated at Tirlemont, and escaped to Mechlin. The intervention of France and England, however, compelled the Dutch to retire, and an armistice was concluded.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Monday, Aug. 15th, 1831.

If Sunday be the only day free for you to receive us, my dear lord, we accept your invitation at once, because I cannot forego an opportunity of seeing you—we meet now so seldom. No news this morning. I am very glad an armistice is concluded, and hope it may be immediately followed by the retreat of the Dutch, also that the French will likewise lose no time in withdrawing their troops. At the present moment this is all that is essential.

A thousand kind regards.

P.S.—The 'If' at the beginning of my letter is caused by the fact of our Sundays being generally devoted to receiving friends who come out from town. But I can beg them not to come should this be the only day convenient to you.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Thursday, 25th [*Aug.*, 1831.]*

I am very unwell, my dear lord, otherwise so long a time should not have elapsed without my coming to see you. But I must hear something of you, and it is for that reason that I write. I was enchanted at learning yesterday that the order had been sent for the withdrawal of the French troops from Belgium. You see very well how France fears you, and that your words have had weight. I rejoice both on your account and for all the rest of the world. What is Leopold doing? Has he hopes now of being able to manage the Belgians?

I have not one word of news to send you. My malady is a violent cold, so bad that it has ended in blood-spitting, which somewhat alarms me. Adieu, my dear lord. How long it is since I have seen you!

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
Aug. 25th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am deeply and sincerely grieved at hearing of your illness; this comes of your fondness for open carriages, and particularly at night. You really must give up that folly.

The French Government has acted very fairly and honourably in sending an order to Maréchal Gérard to retire. Leopold, however, has requested that a divi-

* The docket reads 'October,' but from internal evidence it should be August.

sion of the army may remain till he has organized his own. You will have heard that a new Polish deputy has arrived.* He brought a letter from Prince Adam [Czartoryski], and has requested to see me, which I thought I could not refuse. He is, therefore, to come to me on Monday.

The Duke of Wellington was with me more than half an hour this morning in Downing Street. What will all the politicians say to this? I was in hopes I should have been allowed to stay here to-morrow, and hoped to have been able to call upon you, but I am afraid I shall be obliged to go back for the House of Lords.† In that case I shall have no chance of seeing you before Sunday.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, Aug. 26th, 1831.

A thousand thanks for your note of yesterday, my dear lord. It was worth something, since we cannot meet. I appreciate your letting me know about the Polish deputy, and I entirely understand how full of consideration you are in not leaving me in ignorance of the honour you are about to show him. But my gratitude does not exclude the regret I feel at your granting, now, that which you wisely judged better to refuse, a few months ago, to M. Wielopolski. He also had brought you a letter from Prince Czartoryski.

* J. V. Niemcewicz, the Polish poet. He had been Kosciusko's aide-de-camp in 1794, and was a member of the Council of the National Government.

† The letter was apparently despatched from East Sheen, not from Downing Street.

You received the letter, but you granted no audience to the bearer; and assuredly in so doing you consulted the dignity of the Premier of England, and the honour of a Power allied with, and friendly to, Russia. Your position is so exalted, that of necessity the greatest importance is attached to all your actions; and this is also why the Emperor, who is kept well informed of everything done by the Polish agents, both here and elsewhere, appreciated, and expressed his gratitude for, your straightforward and friendly conduct towards him in regard to the Poles.

My dear lord, it is indeed a great honour, and more than that, a great encouragement, that you are granting to this envoy in receiving him; and it is on this ground that I feel so distressed. I am quite aware how powerless I am to induce you to reconsider your decision; but I could not help telling you what was passing in my mind, because to you I always speak quite openly. I will also venture to add this: pray do not negative by a needless act the sincere gratitude which the Emperor feels with reference to all that you have *not* done up to the present time. In you, and in you alone, does he place the fullest confidence, making an exception in your favour to which you are justly entitled, and which is as flattering to me as though you and I were members of the same family.

The Duke of Wellington's visit to you yesterday will give rise to many speculations. I am delighted at everything which has the appearance of a good understanding existing between you, and from what I have heretofore heard from the Duke himself, there is nothing that need prevent a continuance of the same.

I think I am better to-day, but I have not yet seen my doctor. Good-bye, my dear lord. What a long week!

A thousand regards.

East Sheen,
Aug. 26th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I must, in the first place, say how much I rejoice at hearing that you are better.

I think you may trust me, after all that has passed. After having seen Walewski, after both he and Wielopolski had been frequently received by Palmerston, I thought I could not very well decline an interview which was proposed to me by a person whom I had known formerly when he was here with Kosciusko. The appearance is the only thing you can have to fear, and I do not see why more importance should be given to the visit I am to receive on Monday than to those which I have frequently received from Walewski.

I have just received a despatch from Chad of the 18th. He says that a Colonel Kiss, who had been detached to Polangen by Gielgud,* had penetrated into the Government of Mohilew; that the insurgents in the neighbourhood of Witepsk were very strong, and that General Tolstoi had marched from Wilna against them. He also states that the account of Rüdiger's having passed the Vistula had not been confirmed; that some Cossacks had crossed, but had been driven back by the Poles. All this, however,

* The Polish commander.

appears to be taken from the *Prussian State Gazette*, and will probably, therefore, be known to you. God bless you.

Ever yours,

GREY.

P.S.—Do you go to the breakfast to-morrow?

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday evening, Aug. 31*st*, 1831.

When shall I see you again, my dear lord? What are you doing? what is the world about? I should much like to have a talk with you. Can you come and see me to-morrow? but say at what hour, because, as I always take a walk, I should like to know your time, so as to be at home to receive you.

What says France? Will she retire from Belgium? This question interests me, because it concerns you; but one can only talk these matters over: writing of them is too difficult. What has Niemcewicz to say of what has taken place at Warsaw?* and what do you think of it?

Shall you be able to dine here Saturday, my dear lord, or are you going to the theatre, in the City?

A thousand regards.

[East Sheen,]
Aug. 31*st*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am bent double with a *courbature*—anglicè, a lumbago; so that it is with difficulty that I can cross

* On August 16, the populace had risen, had forced open the prisons, murdered the Russian prisoners, and committed the greatest atrocities.

the room, and am come here to try to cure myself. If you wish to see me, therefore, you must call here to-morrow, but not before twelve.

Niemcewicz appeared to be in absolute despair. I was really touched by the feeling which the poor old man showed, and his manner of expressing it. According to the last accounts, if they are correct, this unhappy business must be settled before this time.

I had a long interview this morning with General Baudrand, first aide-de-camp to the Duke of Orleans, who has been with him in Belgium, and is now come here, from the King, to explain the situation of that country and of France. He gave a thousand and one good reasons why the French army should remain in Belgium, to which I answered that I should only deceive him if I held out the slightest hope of its being consented to by this Government. He is an agreeable and sensible man, of good manners, and extremely conciliatory and prepossessing, without losing anything in his endeavours to promote the object of his mission.

I was not able to go to the Levée, and had a very kind message from the King, desiring that I would meet him in town on Saturday. I doubt whether I shall be able to go. Madame de Dino comes here on Friday to stay till Sunday; it will not be in my power, therefore, to dine with you on Saturday; but perhaps I shall be able to fix some other day when I see you, as I count upon doing, to-morrow.

Ever yours,

GREY.

[Thursday, September 8, King William IV. was crowned in Westminster Abbey.

On the 7th the Committee on the Reform Bill concluded its labours, and the Bill was reported. On the 13th the report was considered.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Saturday, Sept. 10*th*, 1831.

It is only to-day, my dear lord, that I am beginning to revive after that most fatiguing Thursday, and I make use of my little bit of strength for writing to you. I think it much better to write as though there were three hundred miles between us, otherwise we deprive ourselves even of the benefits of absence.

I shall go up to London on Monday for the Drawing-room; and on Tuesday, unless anything unforeseen should occur, we go down to Cheltenham to see the Grand-Duchess, so pray write to me, for I have no chance whatever of seeing you except at the Drawing-room. I am looking anxiously for the reply from France to the last Memorandum. I trust they will accept it, and thus the honour and merit of having preserved peace will accrue to you. Should, however, it turn out otherwise, your position would still be all that you can desire, for public opinion, and even the Opposition, are both with you.

Sunday, 11*th*.—Just imagine! it was impossible for me to finish this note yesterday, I was so constantly interrupted by visitors. I despatch it, however, stupid though it be, to prove that I have not forgotten you. The King came to walk here, at Richmond, yesterday. He stopped to talk with me, and to my surprise I found him looking remarkably well. Do you dine at Court to-morrow? The Corps Diplomatique is invited. No

news whatever, my dear lord, unless you can send me some. Our Polish affairs drag on. They say the Tories are still uncertain as to what they are going to do, the report being that the Duke of Wellington intends to throw out the Bill at the second reading. The moderates think this bad policy, and I doubt much his succeeding. When do you think the Bill will be introduced into the Upper House?

Adieu, my dear lord; I am quite sad at not seeing you, so I begin to rejoice at the prospect of the Drawing-room, which is not my usual habit.

A thousand sincerest regards.

Downing Street,
Sept. 14*th*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

As you have no taste and no feeling for anything but politics, I have, I fear, very little to say on that all-engrossing subject which will make you think this letter worth reading.

You knew, before you left London, that the French Government had agreed to remove every French soldier from the soil of Belgium before the 30th. I have since had a long letter from Leopold, who, on his part, has written to the French Government to say that he finds the presence of French troops no longer necessary, and therefore desires that they may be withdrawn. I had a long conversation, and a very satisfactory one, yesterday, with General Baudrand, and I really see a better prospect of bringing these matters to a good conclusion than we have yet had, if everything is not thrown into confusion by the rejection of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords. In

that case I will answer for nothing—neither for internal nor for external peace. I hear there is a good deal of dissension in the camp of the enemy, and I hope there are not madmen enough in the House of Lords to produce a majority on the second reading, which would produce a series of the most fatal consequences.

Your Capo d'Istria* has thrown everything into the greatest confusion in Greece. There is now a decided civil war in that country; and from all I hear it is chiefly owing to his fault. I am not indisposed, however, to make allowance for the difficulty of governing such a people.

How I wish I could have stayed to hear what you were going to say the other night, when my carriage came to the door! Will you write it? but not unless it is something very kind. I am summoned to the Cabinet. God bless you, dearest Princess,

Ever yours,

G.

P.S.—I am going to Sheen to-night, and hope to be able to stay till Monday.

To Earl Grey.

Oxford,
Wednesday, Sept. 14th, 1831.

Here are a few lines from Oxford, my dear lord; I begin my letter here, and shall probably finish it elsewhere; but as you promised to bear me in mind to-day, I wished to prove to you that I think of you wherever I may be.

* He was still President of Greece. On October 9 following he was assassinated by a Mainote, whose brother he had imprisoned.

In spite of several things your King said the other day (which certainly would have been far better left unsaid*), he pleased me much at the dinner by his sensible remarks on the news from Paris. He thinks, as I do, it is most desirable that we four Powers should all appear to France as holding together, and of good intelligence one with the other. Recent experience has already confirmed the truth of this. As soon as it was seen in Paris that England, at the head of the three other Powers, had both force of will and firmness of purpose, the French Cabinet yielded. This plainly shows, as I have always been telling you, that they fear you, and that you can always obtain what you will; also that giving in only renders them more exacting, while a little energy will command everything. At the present moment, by your dignified and firm attitude, you have obtained an immense result in the preservation of peace, at the same time preserving intact the honour of England. I congratulate you with all my heart, for it is a very great triumph.

Cheltenham, Wednesday evening.—This is such a pretty place. Were you ever here, my dear lord? Let us both come here next summer. You have no idea how charming, picturesque, and mysterious the place is! I found the Grand Duchess better. To-morrow we leave again, and I shall arrive early on Friday at Richmond. If you could manage to come and see me that day you would be certain to find me. I have not another moment, so good-bye.

Trust me, and do not forget me.

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* At the Coronation dinner at St. James's Palace. See Greville's 'Diary,' ii. 193, for some of his Majesty's remarks.

[On September 8, after two days' assault, Warsaw was taken by Marshal Paskievitch. The Polish insurgents fell back on Modlin.]

September 16th, 1831, 11 *p.m.*

DEAREST PRINCESS,

The enclosed contains the substance of the intelligence which has been received to-night. It will probably have reached you from other quarters, but there can be no harm in my sending you news of this nature, even if you should already have received it.

Yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Saturday, Sept. 17th.

It was your note, my dear lord, which gave us the first news of the taking of Warsaw. I received it this morning on waking. Nothing could have been more agreeable to me, and I assure you the pleasure was much enhanced by the fact of the news having reached me first through you. A thousand grateful thanks and my warmest regards.

[September 19 the Reform Bill was read in the Commons a third time, without discussion, and finally on the 21st was passed, after three nights' debate, by a majority of 109. On the 22nd the Bill was carried to the Lords, and the second reading was fixed for Monday, October 8.]

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Monday, Sept. 19th, 1831.

I have absolutely nothing to tell you, my dear lord, but I wish to call myself to your recollection, and

repeat again how much pleasure you gave me the other day in being the first to announce news of so much interest to me. Since then the Berlin newspapers have given us details showing the Polish defeat to have been even more complete than appeared at first sight. Thank God we may now look upon this business as finished; but sad it is that so much blood should have been needlessly spilt, though Marshal Paskievitch did all that lay in his power to prevent it.

And now pray send me some news from London, for since I am at rest about Poland, I can throw myself entirely into your Parliamentary interests. I am most impatient and curious to know how the House of Lords is going to behave. I shall be here the whole of this week, while our *déménagement* to Ashburnham House is going on. Next week I shall be partly in London, partly at Richmond, and towards the end probably at Windsor. Cannot you come here for one day? It is all so beautiful, and green as in the month of June.

Good-bye, my dear lord. I remind you to write to me; it will be a real act of charity, as well as a great pleasure. A thousand regards.

[In Paris mobs assembled, on September 16, 17, and 18, for the purpose of expressing indignation at the failure of the Polish insurrection, and at the part the French Government were supposed to have taken in bringing about this result.]

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Sept. 22nd, 1831.

What has happened to you, my dear lord? Why have I not one single line in answer to the letter

which you ought to have received on Monday? Not one word of remembrance! I am resting here, am quite alone, and am very sorry you are not here with me. What do you think of events in Paris? Do you consider them serious, or will they all come to nothing, as such tumults have so often done before? In any case, they are becoming a seriously bad habit! Is it true, and can it be possible, that the Belgian army is going to be organized by French officers, remaining in the French service and wearing the French cockade? I really did not expect that Belgium would have so quickly become a French province.

We consider the Polish affair finished, thank God. The conclusion has been long in coming, but it could never have been different from what we now see.

When is the second reading of the Bill to come on in the Upper House? As far as I can gather, everyone is making a mystery of how he will vote on this occasion, which seems to prove that no general understanding has yet been come to.

I shall be in town on Monday, and at Ashburnham House. Where shall you be? Good-bye, my dear lord. Do not leave me so long again without a letter. I was better off when you were at Howick. I should be angry were I not rather hurt at your neglect.

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
Sept. 23rd, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

You have, indeed, a right to reproach me. Much as I have been occupied, much as I have

been annoyed by many vexations, both public and private, I ought not to have omitted to write to you. I have intended every day to do so; and every day and almost every hour, when I might have hoped for a leisure moment, something has occurred to prevent me.

I never passed such a morning as that of yesterday. I was never left alone one moment from nine in the morning till five in the afternoon, when I went to the House of Lords more dead than alive. Yet I had nothing to write that could have excited in you the slightest interest. You care for nothing but politics. I am not, however, quite sure, from something I have heard, that you may not have other interests. They are remote from me, however, and as to politics, I really have heard and know nothing that you must not have heard from other quarters.

I begin to hope that the French Government will weather this storm. The peace of Europe depends upon it. If they do, they will be so much the stronger, as every Government is from an attack that fails. I see you have read Pozzo's despatches. Don't take your opinions from him. He sees everything through the medium of his hatred of France; and would, if left to himself, plunge Europe in a war. We must not be too captious as to any circumstance which might furnish some cause of complaint. With patience and forbearance, and without any sacrifice of national honour, I have strong hopes that peace may be preserved; and remember, if you urge matters in a hostile tone, without any pressing necessity, we are not with you. Perhaps the case may be different if the Duke of Wellington succeeds, as he hopes to do, in

his opposition in the House of Lords; if he does, woe to Europe!

I saw Palmella the other day. You may easily imagine the object of his interview. If my hands were free, I might, perhaps, have answered him more satisfactorily.

The accounts from Lisbon are worse and worse.* And yet it seems that Don Miguel is supported by the priests and a considerable portion both of the nobility and the people. He could not otherwise stand an hour, and this consideration adds much to the difficulty of the question.

I am going back to-day to Sheen, and hope to stay there at least till Monday. On Monday se'nnight our war begins. When and how will it end?

God bless you.

G.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Monday, Sept. 26th, 1831.

I have this moment arrived, my dear lord, and only last night did I hear at Panshanger from Lord Palmerston of the sad loss of your grandchild.† That charming little Lambton was the pet of everyone. I cannot tell you how grieved I feel, and how deeply I sympathize with the sorrow this must have caused you.

Household matters detain me here, and I shall only be able to go to Richmond to-morrow. I shall

* Since August 21 insurrection had broken out in Portugal in favour of the Queen, Donna Maria, and the Civil War was now at its height.

† Lord Durham's eldest boy, Charles, born in January, 1818, died September 24, 1831.

stop for a moment in passing East Sheen, when I hope you may be able to see me. The fresh air and the quiet life at Panshanger have done me much good. This week I shall have many things to tire me in addition to my usual daily work. I have heard no news in town, only great anxiety everywhere expressed as to what will happen next week in the House of Lords. The Tories are very ill-advised in forcing on a division. I am surprised that the sensible men of their party should allow themselves to be drawn into this.

You are mistaken, my dear lord, when you accuse me (as in your last letter) of taking my opinions from Pozzo's despatches. I did not even know any had been received, as my husband had not been at Panshanger since last Monday. Neither do I discover the resemblance you find between my views and those of Pozzo; but if, without collusion, Pozzo and I have come to the same opinion, I think this says somewhat in favour of the correctness of our judgment, because really I do not see any probability that he and I should simultaneously have arrived at a like senseless conclusion. I am delighted at the way in which the Ministerial crisis in Paris has happily ended, and I trust that it will be the same with you next week.

If you do not see me to-morrow, kindly write me a line, and tell me if you will be at Windsor towards the end of the week. How is poor Lady Durham? I grieve to think of her. Adieu, my dear lord,

A thousand kindest regards.

East Sheen,
Sept. 28th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I was very sorry to have missed you this morning. As you said you would call here on your way from London, I thought you would probably be late, and I was obliged to go to my poor daughter and Lambton. Our first interview yesterday was dreadful. I shall never forget it while I live. To-day they were more composed; but it is a blow not to be recovered. Why did it fall on this heavenly boy, whilst I and so many others, who would be no loss to the world, are spared? I can think of nothing else, and am quite unnerved for the battle that I have to fight. God bless you.

Ever yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday evening, Sept. 28th, 1831.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have had a visit from Lord Aberdeen to-day, and his language is that of a man pretty sure of a majority next week. However, he declares that if it should be the Government who get the majority, the Tories will then throw up the game, and go away for the shooting, because they see no possible amendment to the Bill that it would be worth their while staying on for. He met Palmella at my house, which was a little bit awkward. I imagine that if you are not in the House of Lords, he will put no question about Por-

tuguese affairs. Lord Aberdeen considers it impossible that you should resign, even though the Bill were thrown out.

Your sorrow, my dear lord, still weighs upon me, I have felt sad all day; I called at Sudbrook this afternoon. Good-night, and *au revoir;* it would give me such pleasure if you could write me a few lines Friday or Saturday to Ashburnham House. I am already settled there. I want to hear how you are.

A thousand regards.

Sept. 30*th*, 1831.

A thousand thanks, dearest Princess, for your kind note of yesterday. I am very well in health, but I cannot shake off this dreadful affliction. Every time I see my poor daughter renews it. There is in her countenance a sweet and affectionate expression of meekness and resignation, with a look of inexpressible anguish which breaks my heart. Poor Lambton, too, is very bad; and I shall feel no mitigation of my anxiety about them till they are returned home from the dreadful ceremony which is to take place next Friday. Forgive me for saying so much about the melancholy circumstances of this family, but my mind is so weakened that I can divert it to nothing else.

If Aberdeen expects me to retain the Government after a defeat on the Bill, what is the object of his measures? Does he think that a revival of the question in the next Session, with all the intermediate agitation, will be to the advantage of the country, or of any party in it? Listening only to their desire to

embarrass the Government, they really do not see what they are doing. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

[Monday, October 3, the debate commenced in the Lords on the second reading of the Bill. It lasted the whole of that week, and on the morning of Sunday, October 8, the second reading was rejected by forty-one votes.]

To Earl Grey.

Ashburnham House,
Oct. 6th, 1831.

I am in my new house, my dear lord, but in such a state of chaos that with difficulty even do I find a sheet of paper on which to write; and I should not have attempted it to-day had I not been urged thereto by some business for the Grand-Duchess. At a time such as this letters and my affairs are really out of place; but you must know the anxiety I always feel, remembering the interest I take in all that regards you.

To return, however, to my Grand-Duchess. Her departure is decided upon, and she now claims the fulfilment of the promise you were good enough to make, some six weeks or two months ago, when she asked you if it would be possible for the British Government to convey her in a steam-packet to a port of either Germany or Sweden. You at that time replied affirmatively, adding, 'Provided always that the time of year allowed of it, and that we were not at war.' As neither of these provisos would at the present moment militate against us, I write to know if you would kindly promise us your interest to obtain

a Government steam-packet to convey her Imperial Highness to Hamburg. She would wish to set out on her journey, and embark on the 21st of this month. Kindly let me have a word from you on this subject, addressing your answer to Ashburnham House. Your speech in the House of Lords was splendid; they say that Lord Lansdowne also spoke very well yesterday. So the Duke of Wellington is prepared to bring in a Reform Bill of his own!

Good-bye, my dear lord. How much I have felt for you this last week, with all your fatigue, and worry, and various troubles! What is to come next?

Ever yours most truly,

Oct. 8th, 1831.

It is too true, dearest Princess, that we have been beaten by a majority more than double of what I expected. What comes next? That is a question I cannot yet answer. But I am quite satisfied with *my* position. We had a most triumphant debate, and I think it will not be long before the Tories repent what now, probably, fills them with exultation.*

To Earl Grey.

[Richmond],
Monday, Oct. 10th, 1831.

I am hungry and thirsty to see you, my dear lord. Is there any hope for to-morrow, or the day after?—at any time or hour you like to name. I come in every morning to Ashburnham House. Let me

* The letter ends abruptly.

find a few words there to-morrow answering me on this point. All the Tories say you ought to resign, and this appears to me the most conclusive reason why you should stay in. Everything will, I think, settle down soon. The Grand-Duchess appreciated very sincerely your kind conduct with regard to her request for the steam-packet, and I, too, cannot sufficiently thank you.

Adieu, my dear lord. Pray come and see me; at all events, do not forget me. I hope you are keeping well.

[A vote of confidence in Ministers was carried by Lord Ebrington in the House of Commons on Monday, 10th, by 131 votes. Lord Althorp then declared that 'the Government did not propose making any other proposition to the House.']

Oct. 11th [1831].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A Cabinet at two, and the House of Lords at five, make it impossible for me to call on you this morning. I am, however, most impatient to see you, though I am told you are become a decided Tory; and I am not satisfied with what I hear of your proceedings in the Conference. As to the Tories, begging your pardon, they seem to me to conduct themselves like men whom God had deprived of understanding for their destruction. Lord Howe's* resignation has been accepted.

In haste, dearest Princess,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

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* Queen Adelaide's chamberlain.

To Earl Grey.

Ashburnham House,
Tuesday [*Oct. 11th*, 1831].*

Thanks, my dear lord, for your note. Choose your own hour to-morrow for coming to me; but, meanwhile, have the goodness to answer by one line the following question. The Grand-Duchess arrives on Thursday evening. Can you come and dine with us Friday, in town, to meet her? I must have your answer immediately for making arrangements. Should Friday be inconvenient, shall I fix my dinner for Saturday or Sunday? Decide; but, for goodness' sake, let me hear from you to-day, if it be possible.

I laughed heartily at the accusation of having become a Tory. People would have to be very clever ever to know whether I am Whig or Tory. I only display one colour—that is, yours. I am *Grey*, and I defy them to convict me of anything else. With regard to the Conference, I do not belong to it; but I repeat and maintain that all will go well if England and Russia keep on good terms, because, though France may cause embarrassments, she will always have to yield when we show ourselves seriously resolved upon carrying anything through. Now, it is impossible that Russia should desire anything that is not just, or anything that would not be even more in the interests of England than in that of any other Power.

One word in answer, pray, about the dinner.

Always yours, in most faithful friendship,

* Docketed in error October 12.

Oct. 12th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I did not get your note till last night. I have no dinner-engagement this week; but there is always danger of the House of Lords, on any day except Saturday and Sunday. Either of these days would suit me perfectly well, but I should prefer Saturday; and I shall think myself much honoured by being presented to the Grand-Duchess.

The majority in the House of Commons, and Lord Althorp's declaration, have quieted the mind of the public here, and I hope will have the same effect in the counties. But there have been some very unpleasant occurrences at Derby and Nottingham.* I am most afraid of Scotland; but I trust they will be quiet there, in the expectation of a new Bill. If we had resigned, I don't know what would have happened. Lord Howe, you know, is out, and furious. God bless you.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

Downing Street,
Oct. 17th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I enclose a letter which I received last night from Sir James Graham,† from which you will learn the opinion of the Sea-Lords of the Admiralty with respect to a voyage up the Baltic at this season. If the Grand-Duchess determines, after all, to go, we

* Riots took place in both these towns. At Derby the gaol was carried by the mob, and at Nottingham the castle (belonging to the Duke of Newcastle) was burnt to the ground.

† First Lord of the Admiralty.

must hope that her good fortune will carry her in safety to Cronstadt; but it really is too great a risk. The vessel she goes in will not be able to return till after the winter. I really was unable to go to you last night, having had a dinner at home, and being quite worn out.

Ever yours,
GREY.

[Parliament was prorogued October 20, and it was announced that the Reform Bill would be reintroduced after the conclusion of the recess, with such amendments as might be necessary.

On October 11 the London Conference on Belgian affairs issued Twenty-four Articles, by which Limburg was ceded to Holland, and Walloon Luxemburg to Belgium, and the latter country was to pay 8,400,000 florins a year towards the debt. With great reluctance the Belgians accepted these altered conditions.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Monday, Oct. 31*st*, 1831.

I cannot go and see you, my dear lord, for I am not at all well to-day; and besides, the Duchess of Cumberland has sent to me to say that she is coming here, so that I am most stupidly kept a prisoner at home. But I must have some news of you. How is your head, and have you dismissed the leeches? I left you much too early last night, but it was not my fault. My husband pressed me to go, thinking we were somewhat in the way, as you seemed far from well.

I promised to send you the letter [from the Duke of Wellington]. Here it is; but pray return it to me by my groom. I have read it over once again, and ended by understanding it, although the subject interests

me but slightly. He thinks Belgium has been too favourably dealt with.

Adieu, my dear lord, I regret another day passing without seeing you, and hope nothing will prevent my going to you to-morrow.

East Sheen,
Oct. 31*st*, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am very much disappointed at not seeing you to-day, as I was at your going away so soon last night, for which I think your excuse a very bad one. I hope I am a little better, but not much; though I had a much better night. I have escaped the leeches.

The Duke of Wellington's meaning is clear enough, but his objection can only proceed from a desire to find fault. If he knew the details, of which he confesses himself to be ignorant, he would hardly contend that we have given too small a portion of the debt to Belgium; and I shall be very glad if the advantages of the internal navigation can be considered as a fair equivalent for the 600,000 florins with which the Belgians were charged, without any reason that I could see. I return the letter. We have very bad accounts of riots at Bristol, which were still going on when the accounts came away.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

[The riots at Bristol began October 29, and continued for three days before order was again restored. A great part of the city was set on fire, the Bishop's palace and the Mansion House were both burnt to the ground, the prisons were broken open by the mob and the inmates liberated, and it was estimated that above five hundred persons in all were killed by the military or perished in the course of the riot.]

CHAPTER VI.

THE PASSAGE OF THE REFORM BILL.

The Conferences on Belgium—Correspondence between Lord Grey and Mr. H. Drummond—Riots at Lyons—The King of Holland refuses the Twenty-four Articles—Donna Maria and Don Sebastian—The Cholera—The Speech from the Throne and the Address—The Third Reform Bill introduced into the Commons—Obstinacy of the King of Holland—M. Ouvrard—Arrival of Prince Adam Czartoryski—The Second Reading of the Bill carried—Delay of Russia in the Ratification of the Twenty-four Articles—Prince Czartoryski dines with Lord Grey; Remonstrances of Princess Lieven—Correspondence on this Subject; Case of General Alava cited—Unsettled State of France—The Bill in Committee—The King of Holland refuses to recognise King Leopold — Mission of Count Orloff to the Hague and London — Lord Harrowby and the 'Waverers'—Prince Polignac's Pamphlet—The Bill read a Third Time; it is carried to the Lords—The Second Reading carried in the House of Lords; the Bill in Committee—Count Orloff and the Queen—The Russian Ratifications arrive—The Council summoned to consider these—Lord Grey's Brother made Bishop of Hereford—Count Orloff's Departure—The Settlement of the Belgian Question—Lord Lyndhurst's Motion; Defeat of the Government—Lord Grey resigns—The Duke of Wellington unable to form an Administration—Conduct of Sir R. Peel—Death of M. Casimir Périer—Lord Grey resumes Office—The *Reform* Bill passes the Committee in the House of Lords—Is read a Third Time, and receives the Royal Assent—The Czar's Opinion of Lord Grey—Lord Grey's Speech in the House of Lords—Riots in Paris, on the Occasion of General Lamarque's Funeral.

To Earl Grey.

Dec. 1st, 1831.

MY DEAR LORD,

Neither yesterday nor to-day have we met. This is very bad fortune. Thanks, however, for your little note.* My husband was well satisfied with yester-

* Missing. There are no letters preserved of the month of November, 1831.

day's Conference. Assuredly he is not one of the party which regards with uneasiness the various changes which have taken place of late. On the contrary, in this present instance political interests being at one with his personal predilections, he looks forward with pleasure to being associated with you in this business,* in all hope and confidence of ultimate success. He is sincerely happy to see you again; you will meet him to-day at the Levée, and he will keep the appointment with you to-morrow at one o'clock—in Berkeley Square, I presume.

The King was in excellent spirits yesterday, and more than usually cordial to me, talking of various matters, questioning me about Palmerston, mentioning you several times; and though he expressed no positive opinion, he seemed to me, from incidental remarks, to be much more kindly disposed towards you than he was the other day. The Queen was equally cordial; she gave me a long account of the dinner of the day before yesterday. The King mentioned that he had seen the Duke of Wellington yesterday at half-past four. What is the meaning of such repeated visits? The King asked me if I had seen you; I said, 'Yes, within the last few days.' The Duke of Cumberland observed that you had not been to the House of Lords yesterday, when the King remarked that you had much to occupy you. Such is my report. On the whole I feel more satisfied with the general aspect of affairs. The King does not like Lord Holland. I wonder why.

Adieu, my dear lord. I shall expect a line the day after to-morrow to say when you can come to see me.

* The Conferences on Belgium.

It is a long time to wait. We were to have dined on Monday with Falck, but the King has sent to invite us for that day. What answer is there from Rosslyn?

Adieu once more, and a thousand regards.

Downing Street,
Dec. 3rd, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your note, which I received last night, did my heart good, for I really began to think that you had determined to leave me off, having heard that you were in town on Wednesday without taking any notice of me. This prevented my writing, not that I had anything to say, or any inducement to write, except the pleasure of communicating with you. I should have wished, however, to have said something about my late correspondence with Mr. Drummond,* and to explain to you the state of the case. I enclose the paper which the Duke of Richmond was commissioned to read to him, and which produced the letter which you have now in the papers. I did not take this step without consulting those on whose judgment I could rely, as I have passed the age when men are sometimes prompted to get into a quarrel, for the sake of being talked of; it was not, therefore, till I had opinions, on which I relied more than on my own, that I called on Mr. Drummond for explanation. Let me have the satisfaction of knowing that you

* The correspondence between Lord Grey and Mr. Henry Drummond was published in the *Times* of December 1, 1831, prefaced by a letter from the Duke of Richmond. Mr. Drummond apologized for the expressions he had used.

think I did right; but do not conceal it if you have a contrary opinion.*

I know little more of Lyons† than you will see in the papers. That affair was clearly unconnected with any political object, and everything seems now to be quiet; but the *comments* may appear subject to some criticism.

The French Government have entered into a convention with us for a mutual right of search, confined, of course, to vessels of war, and for a limited time, for the more effectual abolition of the African slave-trade. This is a great point with us, and one

* [*Enclosure.*]

Lord Grey has read with great pain and surprise a letter in the *Times* of this morning, dated Albury Park, November 26, and signed Henry Drummond, in which the following passage appears:

'The passions of all ranks have been excited by Lords Grey and Brougham against the ministers of religion, and the hereditary counsellors of the King who opposed them, in order that the upholders of our ancient institutions might be intimidated into becoming accessories to their new constitution; and it is vainly imagined that the labouring classes will submit to be discarded, and to sink again into their former degradation as soon as they shall have served the purpose of these profligate politicians.'

Lord Grey claims no exemption from the censure to which every public man is exposed, but he has a right to expect that such censures shall be so expressed as not to attack his private character or honour. A charge of exciting the public mind would have given him no cause of offence, such a charge, made generally, not necessarily implying any improper motive. But Lord Grey cannot help feeling that the line which ought to regulate the conduct of one gentleman towards another, even in the utmost heat of political contention, has been transgressed when he is accused, not only of having excited the public feeling against the ministers of religion and the hereditary counsellors of the King, but of having done so *designedly* for the purpose of intimidation, and that he is further held up to the public as a *profligate* politician. Lord Grey would fain hope that the expressions of which he complains may have escaped Mr. Drummond in a moment of irritation, and that he may have published them without sufficient time for reflection. He trusts, therefore, that Mr. Drummond will see the propriety of giving such an explanation of them as may obviate the effect which they must necessarily produce on the minds of all who may read them.

† Riots at Lyons began on November 21, and during their course six hundred lives are said to have been lost. The riots, it was said, were brought on by the example set by the Bristol mob.

which it was said the French never would consent to. I am busy preparing the Speech for Tuesday, which I do not find so easy, as it will perhaps appear, when the thing is done.

God bless you; love me a little, and believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most devotedly,

GREY.

[Parliament was to meet again, after the recess, on December 6.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Monday, Dec. 5th, 1831.

I only received your letter, my dear lord, on Saturday night. Yesterday there was no means of sending a letter to London, so you cannot receive my answer before to-day. To begin with, a thousand thanks for all your kind wishes. I truly appreciate what you say, and indeed deserve the affectionate regard you have for me. Your chivalrous conduct with regard to Mr. Drummond is quite to my taste. In matters of this sort one always does well to be even over-scrupulous; and I would further add that in this case I do not consider that you have in any way exaggerated the heinousness of the offence. You have acted very nobly, and secured for yourself a vantage ground that places you beyond the reach of future attack, and shields you from subsequent annoyance. If, then, my appreciation be of value to you, believe me, it is entirely yours.

It is with regret that I see this 6th of December approaching, for to you the date will be fraught with endless worries. I will try to come to town one day

this week, and will let you know beforehand, so that we may meet. Last Wednesday, by the way, I came to town with Arthur,* for the dentist, and for nothing else, and after changing horses returned here at once. I did not see a single soul.

My dear lord, diplomacy asks at your hands a favour that is granted in every other country. Now that they have put up a gallery in the House of Lords, could there not be a limited space reserved for foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, where they might come when it pleased them to hear the debates? Do bear this in mind; my request is most disinterested, for you do not admit ladies, and my husband cares little for such matters. I am therefore begging in the interests of Europe in general. Whilst on the subject of Ambassadors, have you remembered Falck? I am very anxious you should accomplish this good work. From a political point of view, also, it is a question on which the Tories will otherwise seek to annoy you. They maintain (as I believe you do also) that Holland is associated with a brilliant epoch in the history of England which it would be a shame for this country to forget. And Falck represents Holland. I beseech you do not lose sight of this. Only show Palmerston that you are truly interested in the matter and he will certainly then come round to your view.

Are you aware how completely the King of the Netherlands has led astray his son, as well as his subjects? The Prince of Orange writes me most vehement letters.† Truly these Dutch, with the ex-

* Her son.

† The Dutch King still refused to accept the Twenty-four Articles, embodied in the Protocol of November 15. All the Powers (except Russia) had recognised the kingdom of Belgium, and had ratified the act of the London Conference.

ception of Falck, have most thoroughly mistaken all the acts of the Conference.

Since I have been here alone and at leisure, I have allowed my thoughts to run on all sorts of political questions. Amongst others, on your intentions with respect to Portugal. I do not know what you have done, or what you may intend to do; but since, in order to promote success, it would be very desirable to keep Spain on your side, be assured that one means of gaining her is *not* to negative the hope of an alliance between Donna Maria and Don Sebastian. I am aware this is not to your taste, but do not say 'No' to it; because with such a bait hung out the Princess de Beira, Don Sebastian's mother—the most intriguing and active woman in Madrid—would help you in your projects for getting rid of Don Miguel, and would work with all good-will for success in this matter. I think I am right in my advice, for this woman is all-powerful.

You see, I have time on my hands at Richmond. I know nothing about the Tories, except that they hold their conclave to-day; that old Eldon has come; that Londonderry has sent his proxy to the Duke of Cumberland, and that he remains down at Wynyard to prove that there is no cholera at Sunderland.*

Adieu, my dear lord; my letter is altogether too long, especially for a time like this—on the eve of the meeting of Parliament. However, write me a line in answer if you have time. Have you seen Niemcewicz? What is he going to do?

A thousand kindest regards.

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* The Asiatic cholera had first appeared in Sunderland, and committed great ravages among the densely crowded and poverty-stricken inhabitants.

Downing Street,
Dec. 7th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I will not tell you how much pleasure your letter gave me; you know it too well, and you abuse your power. Our campaign has opened much better than I expected: the Address voted *nemine dissentiente*, and Harrowby declaring that he did not wish to alter a single word in it, except in one passage, in which he was clearly right, and in which I at once adopted his alteration! The whole tone of the House, too, on the question of Reform, was very much altered, and leads me to hope we shall have the concurrence of many, who before voted against us, on the second reading.

On the two points of Portugal and Holland, Aberdeen showed all his factious malignity; thinking, I suppose, that the Dutch King wanted encouragement in his resistance; and, unwilling to lose any opportunity of annoying the Ministers, even at the risk of throwing all Europe into confusion, he declared that the article respecting the navigation of the canals was so iniquitous and unjust, that it was impossible the King should ever accede to it; and he then went into a description of the unanimous indignation with which it had inspired all the people of Holland. On Portugal, forgetting all he has written and all he has said, he again urged the necessity of recognising his dear Don Miguel, and ascribed all the occurrences of which we have heard, and have reason to complain, to our not having done so. You will see, however, both his speech and my answer, and in the result I do not think he will be found to have gained much for the objects which he had in view.

Tell me, and tell me fairly, what you think of the King's Speech, and of all that has passed upon it. I cannot describe the satisfaction which your approbation (and the manner in which it is expressed) of what I had done with respect to Mr. Drummond gave me. When shall I see you? I now hope that my labours will not be so severe during the sitting of Parliament before Christmas as I had expected; and I am not without hope that, about Saturday se'nnight, I may be able to return to Sheen for the holidays. God bless you.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

P.S.—*Comment va la coqueluche?*

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Thursday, Dec. 8th, 1831.

Many thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of yesterday, and for the graphic account of your first debate. I read also what the papers said with much attention, and I congratulate you on the very conclusive way you answered Lord Aberdeen's attack. My congratulations, also, on the Speech from the Throne, which seems to have been very generally and deservedly approved. The Session appears to me to have opened under extremely favourable auspices, and you ought to feel well satisfied both on private and public grounds. Your adversaries have considerably modified their tone, and it is evident that on the Reform Question the moderate Tories will only oppose you with regard to details. The number, also, of the Ultras, whom no considerations can modify, will become

so insignificant as to be swallowed up in the general mass of those whose desire it is to bring about an accommodation between the parties. You will then have achieved a great and difficult work, the whole honour of which will be yours alone, since it would certainly never have been accomplished without you.

With regard to foreign policy we must expect some opposition. So I judge at least from what the Duke of Wellington told me in a letter received the day before yesterday. He again mentions the question of the navigation of the Scheldt, and characterized the decision arrived at by the Conference as a 'gross injustice.' He does not believe it possible that the two Emperors could sanction a treaty which thus confirms an injustice. (The King of Prussia he does not even mention.) He holds that the interests of Holland, which up to the present time have always been considered as identical with those of England, have now been sacrificed by the English Ministry, etc. Such is the drift of his letter.

The Duchess of Cumberland has lately passed three hours *en tête-à-tête* with the Queen, during which she endeavoured, as usual, to bring forward subjects connected with domestic policy. But the Queen would not let herself be drawn into a discussion, and did not commit herself either by word or sign, being extraordinarily prudent and reserved, and with regard to the Government, saying not one single word. My whooping-cough goes on well, and in a few days I hope to be able to dismiss it from my mind. How happy you make me by saying you will be back here in ten days; this is indeed delightful. Good-bye, my dear lord.

'Falck, Falck!' such is the burden of my song. In truth, public policy demands this of you quite as much as does your personal interest. Reminiscences such as these must not be wiped out by the Whigs, and you really must not give the Tories the pleasure of being more orthodox than yourself in such a matter. I was delighted to hear from my husband that you had arranged everything for the comfort of the diplomatists when they may wish in the future to hear the debates. He told me also that you looked well. I was truly glad to hear this.

Adieu, and a thousand regards.

[The third Reform Bill was introduced into the Commons Monday, 12th, and at once read a first time.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Dec. 14*th*, 1831.

I must congratulate you, my dear lord, on your success. Your Bill is a great triumph, as also the reception it has met with in the House of Commons.

Public opinion is certainly with you, and the acceptance of your great measure is now assured.

I was more than disappointed at not seeing you on Sunday, the only day I was in town. I was somewhat tempted to invite you to dinner, but as you are not always easy to deal with, I had arranged for a *tête-à-tête* first; this, however, fell through, and I now regret not having kept to my first intention. Do give me some news, for I know absolutely nothing. In my last letter I asked several questions, to which you have sent me no answer. What day do you return to Sheen? My whooping-cough is nearly gone.

Good-bye, my dear lord. Do not take pattern of length from my letter when you write to me. You have so much to tell me—all is news to me—whilst I have nothing to give you but true friendship, which is already old.

Downing Street,
Dec. 14th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have just received your note. I really have nothing new to tell you that you must not know from other quarters.

The answer of the King of Holland has been announced, but I have not seen it. If he is encouraged to hold out, so much the worse for him, and for those who encourage him. I am told, but I do not believe it, that you are of this number. The thing is impossible. You have too much regard for me to do what would be so distressing to me personally, and too much care for the interests of your country to force this Government into a close connection with France, which must be the necessary consequence if any of the four Powers were to withhold their ratification of a treaty which their Plenipotentiaries have subscribed.

I do not think Aberdeen will persist in his motions, as there seems now no probability of the Duke of Wellington's being able to attend before Christmas. If he does, never trust me again if I do not make it the worst day both that he and the King of Holland ever saw. In the meantime, the great Mr. Ouvrard*

* The celebrated French financier. He had gained much notoriety by attempting, under Ferdinand VII., to set in order the fiscal affairs of Spain.

is expected here every day with some money scheme which is to set everything right. He mistakes his men very much if he thinks that any of the present Ministers will listen to any schemes of this nature.

Prince Adam Czartoryski is also daily expected; but this leads to a subject on which I think it better to be silent.

Our Reform Bill has had the greatest success. The reformers (not Hunt and Co., for from them I neither expect nor wish for support, but all reasonable reformers) are perfectly satisfied, and our reasonable opponents are at least mitigated by the disposition which we have shown to conciliate them. Peel broke out very intemperately, and very injudiciously; for I think he could not have intended to place himself in a position in which he would be given up by Lord Clive, and supported only by Sir C. Wetherell and the ultra-Tories. His speech, too, was very bad, and successfully answered by Althorp.

I think I have now exhausted all my budget, except that I have fixed Monday, nothing intervening in the House of Lords, for going back to Sheen. God bless you.

Ever yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Dec. 15*th*, 1831.

My dear lord, you were indeed out of temper when you wrote to me yesterday, and although I am convinced the cloud has already passed, I feel none the less obliged to notice it.

First and foremost you accuse me of encouraging the King of the Netherlands in his opposition; and I, therefore, am the cause of the non-ratification of the Treaty! Truly you invest me with an influence and an importance that is both curious and novel, such as would be capable, if exerted, of bringing about the disavowal of all that my husband has effected. . . . Surely you forget that I am his wife when you repeat to me such tattle. The conclusion, also, at which you have arrived is equally strange. Why should the non-ratification of one of the four Powers throw you into the arms of France? Your inclination must indeed be great if so trifling an incident could entail so grave a decision. Is England, then, the ancient and puissant upholder of order and tranquillity of Europe in general, and of all stable Governments in particular, to make common cause with a revolutionary Power whose Government rests on a volcano? — a Government which offers no guarantee but that of disorder, which is incessantly threatening to trouble the peace of the world, and which is only held in check by the good understanding that fortunately unites the four other Powers? I might also remind you that France has ever been the enemy of England, but that truisms do not gain by mere repetition. My dear lord, do you really think I can believe you when you thus threaten me? For this I should have to forget that you were an Englishman, a clever man, and, what I have always believed heretofore, a great statesman. This, then, is my answer to the first paragraph of your letter.

I pass now to your announcement of the speedy arrival of Prince Adam Czartoryski. The *fact* has been known to me for the last eight days, also it

was M. Niemcewicz who announced it to M. de Talleyrand. Your reticence after mentioning his name necessarily implies this to be a subject on which it would be impossible for us to agree. You only brought it forward, then, by way of saying something disagreeable. The intention is certainly not flattering to me, but you have not made me angry, my dear lord, for I have long ceased to be irritated on this subject. Russia fears no one, for anything that can be done in the matter of Poland. Only it would be deplorable were England gratuitously to arouse just feelings of resentment in the mind of the Emperor, and thus irritate the susceptibilities of all Russia, instead of cultivating the cordial relations and the feelings of sympathy which up to the present time have existed with us in regard to England. This is a consideration which, it appears to me, is worth taking into account.

I have left the *bonne bouche* for the end. It is a real pleasure to me to know that on Monday you will again be my neighbour: truly this is the best of good news. A thousand thanks for letting me know, and, as ever, I remain faithfully your friend,

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[December 17 the second reading of the Bill was carried in the Commons by 162 votes, being a majority of exactly two to one. The House then adjourned, for the Christmas holidays, till January 17.]

East Sheen,
Dec. 19th, 1831.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I came here this evening to dinner, and hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow; but I am summoned to a Cabinet at twelve o'clock, which obliges me to go to town early, and when I come back

it will be too late to call upon you. But on Wednesday morning I promise myself, *certainly*, the pleasure of seeing you.

I did not answer your angry note; in the first place, because I cannot bear to enter into an adverse argument with you, and, secondly, because I felt assured that, upon reflection, you would find that you had been unjust. I stated expressly that I did not believe what I had heard; and what I said was not in the way of menace, but a simple statement of what must be the necessary consequence if the ratification is withheld. France and England are bound by the treaty which they have signed, and they must, at all events, ratify and support it.

You will have seen the effect of the reaction, with the belief of which the Tories have consoled themselves, in the House of Commons. The debate was as triumphant as the division. The speeches of Macaulay and Stanley were admirable. The latter completely destroyed Croker, and Peel could make no fight after him. I have no news worth writing.

God bless you, and believe me ever,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Ashburnham House,
Jan. 1st, 1832.

It is I, my dear lord, who now have always to take the initiative. You never send me even a few lines written spontaneously as of old, and I am obliged to come and ask questions in order to extract a letter from you. Such, then, is my reason to-day for writing,

and at the same time I wish you many happy returns of the New Year's Day, which, in London especially, begins very gloomily. Nowhere indeed does the prospect appear very brilliant. What will happen during the next three hundred and sixty-five days?

We have no messenger as yet. It is evident they are taking time for reflection; reflection is always a wise counsellor, so I do not regret the delay.* What news from France? What news from Belgium? I see no great harm in Sebastiani's attack of apoplexy; the *Portefeuille* is well enough in the hands of M. Périer. What is Leopold doing? and what does he mean to do for the retention of the fortresses?

We had wished to go to Brighton to-day, but the answer to the King of the Netherlands keeps my husband in town. I suppose we shall go on Tuesday, hindrances excepted.

Adieu, my dear lord. How very dull London is! I have not seen one soul yet, except poor Falck, who is set fast in his bedroom with rheumatism in all his joints.

Do not forget me, and believe that I think much about you.

[East Sheen],
Jan. 1st, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Thanks, a thousand thanks, for your note; and I return your wish with all my heart—many many happy New Years to you. But it is rather too good for you to say that you always make *les avances*. Recollect, and let me appeal to your conscience whether

* In the ratification of the Twenty-four Articles.

this is just. I only wish I could have found a disposition in you to meet the advances which I have always been making to you, even less than half-way.

The news that we must look for with the greatest anxiety must come from you. I hope the ratification will not be withheld. If it is, the consequences must be what I stated to you the first moment the suspicion arose. Our part is decidedly taken, and we shall go through with it. This is of so much more importance, that I can hardly think of the question of the fortresses.

I shall be in town to-morrow for a Cabinet; but I fear there will be little chance of my being able to call on you before I return to dinner. On Tuesday I go to Brighton, where I shall be delighted to meet you, and I hope you will persevere in your intention of going on that day. I shall stay there till Thursday or Friday. We had a good deal of fog this morning, but not like London. What a pity to leave Richmond at this time!

Sebastiani had faults, but I am always afraid that changes may be for the worse. I hope Périer will take the *Portefeuille.*

Czartoryski* dined here yesterday. I cannot express to you how much I feel for him. This feeling you ought not to object to, and I think you will not. It is impossible you should not have it yourself. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

* Prince Adam Czartoryski, after narrowly escaping capture by the Russians at Cracow, had travelled across Germany with a passport given him by Metternich, under the name of 'George Hoffman,' and had arrived in London on December 22.

To Earl Grey.

Ashburnham House,
Monday, Jan. 2nd, 1832.

Your note reached me last night, my dear lord. Prince Lieven had already been informed during the day of the honour conferred on Prince Czartoryski in having been invited to dine at your house to meet some of the Cabinet; in consequence of which, my husband has requested an interview with Lord Palmerston, to whom he desires to make certain observations on this subject. My dear lord, this man whom you, the Prime Minister of England, have just received with every token of friendship and consideration which you would show to a foreigner of the highest distinction, is a State criminal, convicted of high treason against his Sovereign—a Sovereign who is the friend and the ally of England . . . . And yet now, at the conclusion of a whole year of struggle on the part of the Ambassador of Russia to maintain, working with England, the general peace of Europe, does this rebel, guilty of high treason against his Sovereign, meet with a most flattering and encouraging reception from the head of the English Government! My dear lord, your commiseration with Prince Czartoryski is most humane. I also pity him, but I pity him for his errors, and for having been the cause of the loss of so many thousand lives. But in showing him more than your pity, you have lost sight of this, namely, that a statesman is responsible to the public for his several acts; that it is neither sympathy nor affection that ought to dictate his line of conduct, and consequently that the reception you have given to Prince Czartoryski might well be regarded as an insult by an ally such as

is Russia. When Lord Grey is Premier of England, Lord Grey as a private person ceases to exist. Your actions now are those of England.

I am more amazed than I can express that this view of the matter should not have presented itself to your mind. You know me well enough to feel sure that I could not withhold from you the expression of what I think; and from my long and sincere friendship for you, you must also understand the disappointment and vexation I feel in reflecting that the first hostile proceeding on the part of the British Government against my Court should have come from you—and that after our nineteen years' residence in your country. Indeed, you have deeply grieved me.

To-morrow there is a Conference, which will postpone our journey to Brighton, and I foresee it will be impossible for us to go there this week. Good-bye, my dear lord. Let me hear from you. London is odious; it is stifling, and I am dull to extinction.

Yours ever,

The Pavilion,
Jan. 4th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter this morning. I will not say with surprise, because the account which I had received from Palmerston of his very extraordinary conversation with Prince Lieven had prepared me for it, but with deep regret. To anybody else my answer would have been short: that it neither became a foreign Minister to offer, nor me to receive, such a communication. But to *you* I cannot write in a harsh and peremptory tone.

I believe it is the first time that a foreign Minister has ever assumed a right of questioning a member of the Government as to the persons he may invite to dinner; and the justice of such a pretension, you may be assured, I never will acknowledge. I must beg leave to remind you of the perfect fidelity with which this Government has discharged all the duties arising from its declared neutrality between the contending parties; and, secondly, from its friendly relations with Russia during the whole course of the conflict in Poland. I have personally acted on this principle most carefully. I have avoided as much as possible all communication with the Polish agents in this country, and especially with Prince Czartoryski as long as he was a member of the Government, not having even acknowledged the receipt of any of the letters which he addressed to me. You know what the conduct observed by this Government, and chiefly by my advice, was upon the propositions made by France, leading to an interference; and after this experience, I think I might have been exempted from such a representation as Prince Lieven has thought himself justified in making to another member of the Government, and not to me, with respect to a matter which would not have signified a rush, had he not by this proceeding raised it into importance.

When Prince Czartoryski came to this country, I saw in him no longer a person in a situation of authority and opposing a friendly Government—though if I had, I do not know that it would have made it necessary for me not to show him a common civility—but an unfortunate refugee, deprived of all he had, without having done anything to lower his moral

character in my estimation, and entitled, both as a person I had long known and on account of his misfortunes, to my personal kindness and attention. It was in this situation and under these circumstances that he applied to see me, and that I proposed to him to come to Sheen and to stay to dine on the same day on which Palmerston had been previously engaged to me. And this it is that is magnified into a hostile proceeding, the first that Russia has received from England during the long course of nineteen years!

I think I recollect complaints during the Duke of Wellington's Administration of a much graver cast, and I sincerely hope that on our side we may not have much more serious grounds for dissatisfaction. If we have not, you may be assured that you will never receive a word of remonstrance or complaint from me. I certainly am aware of all the duties imposed on me as a Minister of the Crown, and I hope I fulfil them conscientiously; at least, I endeavour to do so. But I cannot admit that I am to be restrained by them in such a case as this—as to my private relations in society. Prince Czartoryski's situation differs in no respect from that of Alava. Both have been proscribed and condemned as traitors by the Governments to which they opposed an unsuccessful resistance.* But I have not heard that the Spanish Minister ever ventured to remonstrate with the Duke of Wellington on his not only inviting Alava to dinner, but lodging him in his house, when he was the First Minister of the Crown. If such a remonstrance had been made, I think we may guess at the sort of answer which would have been returned. I trust, therefore,

* See note to p. 5, vol. i.

that I shall hear no more upon a subject on which I never ought to have heard at all. I must add that Prince Lieven is quite mistaken in supposing that my invitation had served as an example to Talleyrand. Czartoryski had dined there before he wrote to me.

I have found the King looking very well, in spite of a slight cold, and the Queen quite recovered. I return to Sheen on Friday.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours very faithfully and affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Jan. 5th, 1832.

I should be too happy, my dear lord, to conform with your desire to say nothing further about Prince Czartoryski, and to drop a disagreeable discussion, were it not that in the present instance I am the party complaining and aggrieved. However, as nothing is further from my wish than to go deeper into this quarrel, I will content myself with merely offering some brief observations on the subject of your last letter.

The duty of an Ambassador, and which it has been my husband's earnest endeavour to fulfil during the long course of his residence in England, is to maintain a good understanding and harmonious relations between the two Courts. And even when it became no longer possible for him to hold silence with regard to the fact, that a State criminal had been received with favour and distinction by the Prime Minister of England, he still hoped that an amicable and satisfactory explanation from you might have placed him in

a position to mitigate the painful impression this news must produce at the Russian Court. You did not give him the opportunity of doing so. As you had already left for Brighton, and as, moreover, Lord Palmerston is the Minister with whom an Ambassador is in official communication, it was naturally to him that my husband addressed himself.

The comparison that you draw between Alava and Czartoryski does not appear to me exact. First of all, Alava was not the *chief* of a revolutionary Government, only a secondary personage and of no individual importance. In the next place, he was a member of a Government recognised by England, and with whom diplomatic communications were being carried on through the Ambassador, Lord Heytesbury.* Thirdly, Alava and the Duke of Wellington had long been on terms of the greatest intimacy. Your acquaintance with Prince Czartoryski is limited, if I mistake not, to the few weeks of a visit made by him to England in the year '14; and finally, in receiving Alava, the Duke of Wellington entered into such explanations with the Spanish Minister as did away with any political importance that might otherwise have been attributed to the proceeding.

Allow me now, in my turn, to make a comparison. If M. de Polignac had not so stupidly allowed himself to be taken prisoner in France, but had escaped to England, would you have asked him to dinner? Had you done so, do you believe that M. de Talleyrand would have held his peace? And even in this instance the cases are not similar. For M. de Polignac never conspired against his King; he never sought to de-

* At that time Sir W. A'Court.

throne him; he never waged open war against him; in fact, M. de Polignac was little more than a fool, punished according to his folly. My husband never dreamt of saying that your dinner to Prince Czartoryski served as an example for M. de Talleyrand to do the like, since it was well known that from the day of the Prince's arrival in England he had been received on intimate terms by the French Ambassador. But what my husband maintains is, that the reception you have given to Prince Czartoryski has encouraged M. de Talleyrand in giving greater publicity to the relations existing between them; in consequence of which, too, he has had him at one of his soirées, to which several foreign Ministers had been also invited. These Ministers are the representatives of Courts in friendly relations with Russia; they took offence, and have declared to M. de Talleyrand that it would be impossible for them to accept any invitation for the future, to go to his house, when Prince Czartoryski was likely to be present.

I repeat, my dear lord, heretofore we have never had to complain of any want of consideration arising from unfriendly feeling on the part of the British Government. The policy of the Duke of Wellington, certainly, was hostile to Russia in our war with the Turks; still, he never showed lack of courtesy towards our Emperor. And since no discourtesy was shown, even at the time when Great Britain was inimical to our country, why should we meet with unfriendliness when the politics of the two nations are in perfect accord? I leave unanswered the passage in your letter where you say that 'Czartoryski has done nothing to lower his moral character in my estimation,'

which can only mean that you do not disapprove of what he has done; you are well able to judge the impression this must make upon me.

I admit all that you say, my dear lord, with regard to your very loyal conduct towards Russia during the struggle in Poland. This is most true and exact. You have fulfilled your duty as a statesman and a man of honour scrupulously, and with dignity. You must have seen how entirely the Emperor has appreciated your conduct. You know well how sincerely grateful I have been to you for all this, and it is precisely for this reason that my vexation has been the greater at seeing you depart from the judicious line of conduct you had hitherto adopted.

And now, having said all that is on my mind, I close the subject with the earnest hope that this disagreeable discussion may be finished. I feel sure that you will give me no cause for returning to it; your good sense must always, in the long-run, get the better of either inclination or prejudice. I did not show your letter to my husband; it contained expressions which would have annoyed him greatly. I preferred, as a woman, to give no occasion for fresh misunderstanding, and I, therefore, only read out to him a general summary of its contents. I think the last news from Petersburg must have pleased you; for though the ratification would have been still more satisfactory, the Emperor's message was both wise and conciliatory.

Ouvrard has had an interview with the Duke of Wellington. On leaving his house he said to someone: 'That man is quite broken,'* so greatly was he struck by the change in him.

* 'C'est un homme démoli.'

Good-bye, my dear lord. It is reported that you have accomplished many and great things at Brighton. I have seen the Bathursts, who told me that positively there is to be a new batch of Peers, which appeared still more to annoy these ladies than did the Reform Bill. As you are only acting within your rights, it seems to me that nothing can be said. Heaven knows when we shall get to Brighton. I am wasting away in London ; it is really enough to kill anyone.

Adieu once more, and a thousand kind regards.

East Sheen,
Jan. 6th, 1832.

DEAR PRINCESS,

I am just returned from Brighton, and have received your letter. I was in hopes this matter would have ended with my last letter, and I am not at all inclined to prolong a very unpleasant correspondence upon it. But I must say a word : In the first place, I do not think it is any part of the duty of a foreign Minister to make inquiries into the dinner-parties of the Government to which he is accredited, or to report upon them ; much less into a very private party in the country, of which nothing need have been known, if Prince Lieven had not thought proper to raise a question upon it. At all events, I must protest against, and never will submit to, such an interference. I deny, then, the right to make a representation upon such a subject to the Court of Petersburg, and certainly you will expect in vain any amicable explanation from me upon it.

In the next place, you are quite mistaken as to the fact of my having left town for Brighton

when this communication was made to Lord Palmerston. I was in London at the very moment of the interview, and it would have been as easy for the Prince to see me as Lord Palmerston after the Cabinet. I believe there are not many examples of a foreign Minister making a complaint against the head of the Administration to another member of the Government. I feel, therefore, that not only the thing itself, but the manner of it, was such as to give me just cause of offence.

Thirdly, I cannot admit any valid distinction between the case of Alava and that of Czartoryski. The former was in a high situation in the revolutionary Government, though not its chief, and was a party to the violence used to the person of the King* in taking him by force to Cadiz. It is possible the Duke of Wellington may have given a voluntary explanation to the Spanish Minister. Of this I know nothing. But I think I do know the answer which would have been returned if a complaint had been made of the Duke's conduct.

Fourthly, Polignac was a person for whom I had neither friendship nor esteem. There consequently could have been no question as to my receiving him. But if it had been otherwise, and Talleyrand had made a representation upon it, I should have given the same answer to him that I do to you. As to my dinner having served as an example and encouragement to Talleyrand, I must be allowed to doubt the fact. Nor do I see how a very private family dinner, consisting only of three persons in addition to the inmates of the house, could serve as an example for a public one.

* Ferdinand VII.

Fifthly, I leave you to decide which you would prefer—a hostile policy (the word used to be *une malveillance extrême*), accompanied with external regard; or a friendly policy, which has been uniform and faithful, with such a proceeding as you think it right to complain of.

Sixthly, here your logic is a little at fault. Is it not possible to reconcile personal regard with a dissent from personal conduct? If a person engages in a contest in which I am satisfied that he has been influenced by honourable and conscientious motives, may I not retain all my esteem for him, though I may think that he has judged ill for himself and for his country? Nobody can disapprove more than I do of the conduct of Lafayette; but nobody, on the other hand, can be more convinced than I am that, though his views may be erroneous, his motives are honest. I am rejoiced, at least, that you acknowledge that my conduct towards Russia has been sincere and friendly. This experience, and some knowledge of my character, ought, I think, to have protected me against such a complaint as was made against me. Here, at last, I hope this discussion will terminate, the more especially as I fear neither of us is likely to be convinced; and as the more this matter becomes a subject of controversy, the more I feel that I have reason to be offended.

I shall be in town to-morrow for a Cabinet, but without a hope of being able to call upon you.

Ever, dear Princess,

Most sincerely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Jan. 7th, 1832.

You are perfectly right, my dear lord: I am not in the slightest degree convinced by any single argument contained in your letter. I feel myself quite capable of refuting each and all of them; but I call to mind, and shall now turn to account, what my old governess told me when I quarrelled with my brothers and sisters: 'The least at fault ought to bring the quarrel to a close.' You must not take offence at this comparison, nor at the way I apply it. I will only say in answer to one phrase in your letter—viz., 'certainly you will expect in vain any amicable explanation from me upon it'—that neither my husband nor myself can take back a word of what *we* have said.

And I remain ever truly and sincerely yours,

P.S.—It is only from your letter my husband learns that you were in town on the day of his explanation with Lord Palmerston. Had he been aware of it, certainly he would have communicated directly with you.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Jan. 11th, 1832.*

I believe you to bear me no ill-feeling, my dear lord, since truly I bear none to you. As, then, we have no longer any quarrel, I ought to keep you informed of my plans. I leave to-day for Panshanger,

* Docketed in error 1833.

to remain there three days; and I expect to return, at latest, on Sunday. What are you doing? When shall I see you again? What is the news we shall get at the end of this week from Vienna, from Berlin, and from France? We live in strange times, and one must be stupid indeed to be a prey to ennui. It is certainly not flattering my vanity to have to confess that I do suffer from it; but the fact is deplorably true. Address your letters to Panshanger. I expect to go to Brighton after Parliament meets, when perhaps there will be fewer people there. At any rate, we may then hope for better weather.

Adieu, my dear lord. Do you not think it possible that not seeing you may cause me some ennui?

A thousand kindest regards.

Downing Street,
Jan. 11*th*, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

There never was a person less disposed to *bouderie* than I am; and if I still had any ill-humour remaining, your note was enough to dissipate it at once. I am here for a Cabinet, but return to Sheen to dinner, from whence I shall not return, except I should be wanted for another Cabinet, till Monday, when we come to establish ourselves for good. To say how I hate the prospect of a *triste séjour* in this horrible town is impossible, the more especially as my constant occupations, both in Parliament and here, will allow me few opportunities of seeing you. I wish I could believe that your ennui had been occasioned by my absence; but you have never given me much reason to think that it is of much importance to you,

and you are rather too subject to that feeling to allow my vanity to attribute it to myself.

I have no news, except what you will have both seen and heard from the public papers and from other sources; and these certainly show that nothing can be worse than the present appearances in Paris. The delay of your ratifications has been most unfortunate. If a change of Government should take place in France, whilst the Belgic affair remains unsettled, God knows what may be the result.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Saturday, Jan. 14th [1832].*

Thanks for your letter, my dear lord. Despite Parliament, which I detest, I am glad of your returning to London, for I am condemned to stay there, too. I return to-morrow, and shall not stir again, except to go and stay a few days at Brighton, which I shall do on the first occasion of my husband's being able to get away for a holiday; and this, I think, may be at the end of next week.

The adjournment of the Conference for the exchange of the ratifications gives us a little time to look about us; and I think that through this delay, which I might regret for not being longer, all the Governments will end by doing the same thing at the same time. This would be an excellent thing, both as regards the manner and the matter.

* Docketed in error 1833.

It appears to me that affairs are calming down in Paris; but what a bad state a country must be in, where at the end of each week the Government is menaced afresh! It is impossible to know who to rely on in France, and who is really master. How poor Louis Philippe must regret being no longer Duke of Orleans! and what a poor business it is being a King! I am far away here from all news; but, then, far away also from the fogs, which is more than a compensation. The company we have is not remarkable; it is mostly made up of young people who sing duets and trios all the evening.

Adieu, my dear lord. I shall be most impatient to see you, and I trust you will think of me when first you have a moment of leisure.

A thousand kindest regards.

[Parliament met on January 17, and immediately proceeded to business. In the Commons, twenty-two nights' work enabled the Government to carry the Bill through Committee.]

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Sunday, Jan. 22nd [1832].

Your note* of Friday found me here, my dear lord. I had not told you of my departure for Brighton, because, as you seemed to have forgotten me since your return to London, I imagined that such information could have but little interest for you.

I have felt some remorse on receiving your note, as I see by it that you have been unwell, and all my kindly feelings are reawakened. I hope that you are

* Missing.

better now, and that you may find it possible to come and see me Tuesday or Wednesday. To-morrow I return to London. I am very well satisfied with my stay here. The air is good. One becomes indifferent to all worldly worries; in short, one breathes and absorbs philosophy. Truly, there is nothing in this world I detest more than London, and nothing is to me more charming than leaving it. I dine every day at the Pavilion. The King is in excellent health and spirits, as likewise the Queen. My time there passes very pleasantly. My husband has left again for London for another Conference. I rebelled against so short a holiday, and twenty-four hours extra leave seems to me quite worth having. What news is there from the Hague? I much fear the King of the Netherlands is not a man to ward off difficulties. There are a great many Tories here. Up to now I have met no guests but these at the Pavilion. Indeed, it is only there that I can take my bearings as to society.

Adieu, my dear lord. It seems so very long since I have seen you; it is nearly four weeks ago that we last met. This is too much.

Very many most faithful regards.

To Earl Grey.

Friday morning [*Jan. 27th*, 1832].

I have just heard, my dear lord, how triumphant for you were both the debate and the division last night in the House of Lords. I am told you spoke admirably. I have not yet seen the papers; but I cannot delay complimenting you on your success.

I am looking forward with impatience to to-morrow, since you at last promise me a visit; but let me know the hour, that I may put off a tiresome visitor who is threatening me. I have been by no means well since I came back from Brighton, and I dare not leave my room.

Adieu, my dear lord. What an eternity of time it is since I saw you last!

A thousand kindest regards.

Jan. 27th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have kept your servant longer than I wished, but I was dressing when he arrived. I came home more dead than alive from the House of Lords, having been very unwell, and passed the night before without sleep.

If my speech succeeded, it was by God's providence; for I was suffering all the time, and at last cut off from much that I had to say by mere want of bodily strength. I long to see you, and will call to-morrow at three, or as soon after as I can. It grieves me to hear you complain of your health.

There never was anything like the malignant and factious spirit of these Tories, and particularly Lord Aberdeen. I have been hitherto very forbearing, even last night, though I found some difficulty in restraining myself; but let them take care that they don't at last provoke me beyond my patience.

Ratify! ratify! ratify! there is no other conclusion safe or possible. God bless you.

Yours affectionately,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Monday, Jan. 30th [1832].

I have but this moment heard the news, my dear lord, of the poor little child's death.* I am pained to think of the grief that your daughter must be suffering, and all that you also must feel on her account.

I have before me a very explicit letter from the Prince of Orange. The King of the Netherlands will not recognise Leopold, any more than a year ago he would agree to recognise his own son as King of Belgium. It is not possible, therefore, to come to an understanding with him. This obstinacy is sad work, and I do not see how matters are to end. I now the more regret you cannot pause till you learn the Emperor's view of the matter; for it is evident that Russia cannot countenance such extravagant conduct.

They tell me the Duke of Wellington is convinced your Parliament will not sanction the Treaty; though who the authority is for the statement, I do not know. Truly your Irish are becoming too dreadful; the assassination of this poor priest is a horrible act.

Adieu, my dear lord. I trust you and Lady Georgina do not forget that I expect you both to dinner on Sunday; though you, doubtless, I may hope to see again before then. Lady Jersey was very sweet yesterday, and *very* amiable with John Russell.

A thousand kindest regards.

* An infant daughter of Lady C. Barrington.

Jan. 31*st*, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Many thanks for your note, which I received last night. The release of the poor little child is really a blessing. Its life was impossible. My daughter, though feeling this event as she naturally must, is going on as well as possible.

If you did not before see that the real motive of the resistance of the King of the Netherlands was his determination not to acknowledge the separation of Belgium, and his hope of recovering it, you have been slow of conviction. A more decisive conduct on the part of your Government, and such as (give me leave to say) we had a right to expect, would have prevented this mischief. This, I hope, may still be done; but it can only be done by an exchange of the ratifications. If you continue to withhold them, the consequences must be what I have stated from the beginning.

I will call on you the first moment I can, but the necessity of being in the House of Lords always at five o'clock abridges my time exceedingly. The Duke of Wellington's predictions are not always borne out by the event. Witness his confident assertion that the House of Commons would never pass the Reform Bill.

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Monday, Feb. 13*th* [1832].

This morning my husband received despatches from Petersburg, my dear lord, which inform him

that Count Orloff (general Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor) is to be sent forthwith to the Hague.

The object of his mission is to prevail on the King of Holland to accept the resolutions come to by the Conference, and should he refuse assent thereto, to declare that Russia gives him no countenance, but recognises as established facts both the independence and the neutrality of Belgium. From the Hague Count Orloff is to proceed to London in order to acquaint our Plenipotentiaries with the results of his mission. He is the same individual who managed our affairs at Constantinople after the Treaty of Adrianople; in fact, it was he who signed the Treaty.

I had a long visit from Lord Harrowby yesterday morning.* He talked over the whole question of Reform with me, in all its length and breadth. His own views are extremely moderate, and he promises that there will be a considerable number of Peers who will follow his lead. He will vote (with the minority) for the second reading.

The Duke of Wellington has dined with us—in excellent health, and quite good-humoured, except when Harrowby was mentioned. Such, my dear lord, is my budget of news. I should add that the pony has arrived, and you have my promise that the greatest care shall be taken of him. I trust you have not felt any the worse for your walk of the other day. To regain your appetite you should repeat the prescription.

Adieu, my dear lord, and a thousand kindest regards.

* Lord Harrowby was one of the Tory party called the 'Waverers,' who were profoundly impressed with the dangers inseparable from the unconditional rejection of the Bill, and sincerely anxious to effect a compromise upon it.

Downing Street,
Feb. 13*th*, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for your very kind and interesting note. The information it gives me is most satisfactory. I trust Count Orloff will execute his commission with firmness. Nothing else will bring that obstinate King to his senses, who runs a great risk (if it is clearly proved, as it must be, that his real objection is to the separation of Belgium, and to the acknowledgment of Leopold) of turning the public, which has hitherto been in his favour, against him. I hope the ratification will immediately succeed Count Orloff's mission, and then the union of the Powers and the peace of Europe will be established.

I had before no doubt that Lord Harrowby will support the second reading. But I wish I could know a little more distinctly who are the persons who compose '*la longue queue*,' and what is the real length and substance of it. The Duke of Wellington's obstinacy is really inconceivable. It is the effect of personal feeling, and not of reason.

I hope the pony will suit Prince George; if not, you have nothing to do but to send him back to me; of his being taken care of I have no doubt. God bless you.

In haste, yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Saturday, Feb. 18*th* [1832].

I wanted to have written to you yesterday, my dear lord, but was prevented; and I do so now to ask

whether there is any chance of my seeing you either to-day or to-morrow, and at what o'clock.

How did your meeting with Lord Harrowby go off? If what the *Globe* writes be true, matters are now arranged between you; but, then, I do not always give credence to what the papers say. Of our own affairs we have as yet no news. Have you heard, however, that they are beginning to talk of a possibility that the King of Holland will abdicate?

Good-bye, my dear lord. What abominable weather! By the way, how does the cholera get on?

Yours ever,

Downing Street,
Feb. 18*th*, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

The dinner at the Lord Mayor's, where, by the way, you and Prince Lieven ought to be—for you have not once undergone that infliction since I have been in the Government—prevents the possibility of my seeing you to-day. To-morrow we have a Cabinet, and then the House of Lords begins again; whence, to judge from what passed yesterday, the acrimony and violence of the Tories is rising to madness.

My interview with Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe was marked on both sides by a conciliatory spirit. More I cannot say at present, and you are quite right in doubting what appears in the papers on subjects of this nature. It will be a good thing for all the world if the King of Holland abdicates, but I do not think it likely. I am afraid the Conference has been very ill-served by the foreign Ministers at the Hague, as

the accounts I hear confirm me more and more in the belief that they have, by their language and conduct, encouraged the King of Holland in the resistance which he has made to propositions which it would certainly have been his interest to accept. The cholera seems to make a very slow progress, and I have great hopes that the alarm will be found to have been much greater than the real danger. God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

Feb. 28th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

The King does not leave town till Friday. I can send you Polignac's pamphlet if you have not got it. I have only skimmed it over, but it does not appear to me worth reading. I had only cast my eye over the three or four first pages when I mentioned it to you, which seemed to be better written than I expected. What news of Orloff? I begin to be very impatient.

In haste, dearest Princess,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday, Feb. 29th [1832].

A thousand thanks, my dear lord, for the information about the King's departure. It was of some moment to me to know the date of it, for Friday being the Duchess of Cumberland's birthday, I wanted to get her to dine with us, which, however, could not

be, had the King been leaving that day. I have read M. de Polignac's pamphlet, and in all that concerns himself I think it dignified and moderate. The rest only treats, in a clever way, of what are general considerations, and of no immediate interest. In point of fact, I do not consider that he is capable, by himself, of having written it.

We have no word of Orloff. I think the mails are delayed. To-morrow we dine with the King. Are you to be there too?

The division in the House of Commons yesterday appears to me well enough,* whatever they may say, and Peel, by the way, seems to have made a fine speech.

Adieu, my dear lord. What weather! It makes me quite sad.

[March 22 the Reform Bill, having passed the Committee, was read a third time; and on the 23rd it finally passed the House of Commons without a division.

The Bill was introduced into the Lords on the 26th, and the 'Waverers' publicly avowed their intention of supporting it. The Bill was read a first time without a division, and April 9 was fixed for the second reading.]

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday morning, 28th [March, 1832].

Orloff has arrived, my dear lord. Will you not be amiable, and come and dine with us to-morrow, to meet him? it would give me such great pleasure. Send me a line in answer. I am in hopes that you will look in on us for a short time this evening.

* In the division in the House of Commons (February 28), on the Enfranchising Schedule C, the Government had a majority of eighty.

Your speech on Monday was perfect, and in my opinion should insure success to the Bill.

A thousand kind regards.

[April 9 the debate in the Lords on the second reading began, and lasted over four nights. On the 13th the Government carried the second reading by a majority of nine votes, and the Bill went into Committee.]

To Earl Grey.

London,
Saturday, April 14th [1832].

I have let myself be forgotten by you, my dear lord, all the time that your mind was preoccupied with your great measure; but now that the second reading has been carried, I must really recall myself to your memory.

And first of all, with all my heart do I congratulate you on your victory, which is all the more glorious from your having conquered without a recourse to extreme measures; also, as everyone knows, the honour of resisting the temptation belongs to you alone.*

I am so grieved for all your fatigues, and trust that you will now spend the day resting, and enjoying the fresh air. I also trust you will not forget that to-morrow you dine with us.

A thousand friendly regards.

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* Lord Durham and Sir J. Graham had persistently urged the creation of Peers, in order to secure the passage of the Bill.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
April 20th [1832].

You left London, my dear lord, without either coming to see me, or giving me a sign of recollection, and now we shall probably be separated for a fortnight.*

I arrived here yesterday with my children. My husband will be unable to follow me for at least some days; but since his illness was in no way serious, and I hungered for fresh air and quiet, I let myself be persuaded to abandon him. We are quite by ourselves here; there is only Lord John, who goes to sleep, and so the company is not very animated. But it is peaceful and quiet, with not a word about politics or ratifications—all that is left in London.

If Orloff leaves next week, as he intends, I shall go back to town for two days to see him once more. I shall regret him, for he is such a good fellow, and so honest-minded; both merry and frank-hearted, having withal a subtle intellect—this last far more than appears at first sight.

I dined Wednesday with the Londonderrys; they gave us a child's play afterwards, very prettily done. I met the Duke of Wellington, Peel, and Lyndhurst there, besides the Duke of Cumberland, who appeared quite cast down and anxious; the others, however, were in excellent spirits. The long recess has pleased everybody, and as I observed to the Duke of Wellington, he must admit that in this matter, at least, the Whigs do better than the Tories. But now we are

* The Easter recess.

having rain and bad weather, for apparently you did not arrange matters with the heavens.

Good-bye, my dear lord; I hope to hear news of you soon. Do not forget me, and rely on my friendly regards.

East Sheen,
April 21st, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Between business, House of Lords, and Levée, I had not one moment of which I could dispose on Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, the only days on which I could have called on you. I am rejoiced at getting a little quiet and fresh air, and regret that during this, the only interval which I shall probably have for some time to come, you are not at your old quarters on Richmond Hill. I rode over it yesterday, and with a fine air and bright sun, the view was more beautiful than ever. But I suffer more from fatigue now, I think, than during the period of exertion.

I quite agree with you about Orloff. What I have seen of him I like very much. There is a story of what he said of the Queen's ugliness having been repeated to her; but it seems impossible to suppose, with every allowance for a disposition to make mischief, that such a thing could have been repeated.

I have a letter from one of my sons, who is at Nauplia, giving a sad account of the state of Greece.

I am irrecoverably stupid, and must conclude.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

London,
May 1st, 1832.

My dear lord, you are forgetting me. You have sent me nothing since your last short letter.

I got back yesterday from Panshanger, very sorry to come away, and, above all, to have to go and bury myself in this vile atmosphere. Had I any hopes of seeing you, there would be some consolation in my trouble; but you have become niggard of both visits and letters.

Our ratifications arrived by the messenger yesterday, and I trust the desires expressed by our Government, and appended thereto, will not be disapproved by you. The fact of our having ratified is of value to the world at large, and while I congratulate myself for it on our own account, I may congratulate you also, for it is no unfavourable event for your Administration.

I regret that my forecast about M. Périer appears to be coming true. I always feared the sequel of so grave a malady would, for a long time to come, be to prevent his return to public life.

Thursday next we give our farewell dinner for Orloff. I know there is no chance of our getting you, because of the dinner of the Knights of the Garter; but I am vexed at it.

Adieu, my dear lord; send me some news, and above all, tell me if your leisure is profiting your health, and whether or no it has weakened your memory; for I am quite annoyed at seeing that you no longer think of me.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

East Sheen,
May 1st, 1832.

A thousand thanks for your note, dearest Princess. A complaint of my not writing is expressive of a wish to hear from me; so that it is flattering. But I have an equal right to complain. I really have had nothing to say as to any public event, and nothing else has any interest for you; and I have been lately afflicted more than usual with my dislike of writing.

The weather has been cold, and has chilled my blood; and I go back with more reluctance than ever school-boy went to school to my daily labour in Downing Street and the House of Lords. To-day it has been beautiful, and I suppose spring will break out with all its sweets and all its brilliancy just as I am going to that dirty town.

I am glad your ratifications are at last arrived. Better late than never. I hope they are without conditions. I am afraid the delay which has attended them cannot be altogether repaired by their coming now at the eleventh hour; certainly not, if they are clogged with any new difficulty. A change of Ministry in France seems inevitable. The danger of this is much increased by your having kept the Belgian Question unsettled.

We shall all be in town to-morrow; but what with Levées, Drawing-rooms, Cabinets, and dinners, I don't know when it will be in my power to call on you. God bless you, dearest Princess.

Yours most affectionately,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Friday, May 4th, 1832.

Thank you much for your little note of yesterday,* my dear lord. We are indeed reduced to a sad case when we have to give each other appointments at the Queen's Drawing-room, with no other resource for meeting or exchanging a couple of words. All this pains and worries me extremely.

Orloff will call on you to-day between one and two o'clock; but since you tell me that you will be at leisure to-day from twelve to three, why not employ this in a Cabinet Council, and there take cognizance of the communications we have to make? I think if you examined these more attentively, you would judge of them more favourably than you at present appear to do. Everybody—Prussia, Austria, even France—all desire that matters be decided without delay, and that Orloff may be the bearer of the decision come to by your Government. Again, all hold that our reservations *in no wise prevent* the exchange of the ratifications, and further, everybody feels it to be of importance that this exchange should take place immediately, for thereby the core of the matter would be irrevocably fixed. This for the general tranquillity of Europe would be an excellent thing. If you agree with me in this, make up your mind to exchange the ratifications; if you think differently, pray say so; but really it would seem to me useless in this latter case to let us go lingering on in uncertainty. If you agree (to ratify), it is of the first importance that Orloff should be the bearer of the news, for his broad shoulders may carry

* Missing

a great deal more besides. He leaves to-night. I know M. de Talleyrand is extremely anxious that the affair should be settled, and they will all petition you to summon a Council for to-day. Should this be so, pray let me have a line that Orloff may hold himself at your orders at whatever other hour you may indicate. Our reservations might be kept secret; all that need be known would be the exchange of the ratifications, this giving an assurance of the perfect agreement among the five Powers on a point of interest common to all, viz.: the peace and the tranquillity of Europe.

Good-bye, my dear lord; pray tell me that you are to have a Cabinet Council to-day; but then, alas! when am I to see you? I am quite sad at not having any talk with you.

A thousand true regards.

Downing Street,
May 4th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I shall be very glad to see Count Orloff at the hour you mention. I wrote last night to Palmerston (in consequence of a note to Talleyrand) to say that if he would summon the Cabinet for this morning, I should be ready to attend it, at any hour he would appoint. I have had no answer, and am afraid something may have delayed his arrival in town.

Believe me, I am as anxious as anybody can be to bring this Belgian Question to an end. Ask your own conscience to whose fault it is owing that this has not been done long ago. Not only the reserve made in the instructions to Prince Lieven, but the manner of it,

create difficulties which I am afraid the declaration which Prince Lieven, in his private letter to Palmerston, states that he is ready to make, on exchanging the ratifications, is hardly sufficient to remove. But I am willing to consider everything in the best view that can be taken of it, and to remove, and not to increase, difficulties; but I am much and deeply grieved at the conduct of your Court. I agree with you in thinking it of great importance that Count Orloff should be the bearer of the decision taken here, whatever it may be. But I am afraid this can hardly be, if he is to go away to-night. Could he remain for a day or two, I would ask it as a personal favour, if that would do any good; and I repeat that I have no disposition to dwell on difficulties which there is any possibility of avoiding.

My brother is the new Bishop. I meant to have proposed him, but the King anticipated me in the most gracious manner, and desired that it might be understood to be entirely his own doing, without my having mentioned the subject to him, which is the fact.

God bless you, ever dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Friday, May 4th [1832].

I sent on your note to Orloff, my dear lord, and he is quite ready to meet your wishes, and remain on for a day or two longer; but the case presents a difficulty. The steamer for Hamburg sails to-night,

* Of Hereford.

and by her is the only ordinary means of reaching Lübeck in time to catch the steamboat for St. Petersburg, which sails on the 10th. In any case, it is necessary that Orloff should arrive in Hamburg not later than the 9th, and how can this be secured if he fail to cross by to-night's steamer? Would you have any means of sending him over? Were such the case, and were you to allow him hopes of a favourable decision in regard to this affair, he would stay over to-morrow; in the other event, he has no choice but to take passage by this evening's boat. You have my thanks for the conciliatory disposition evinced by your letter; it gives me hope the difficulties will be removed, and that in the manner we all desire. Count Orloff has every confidence *in you*, and carries away a feeling of personal regard for you that may content you well; for, as I would again repeat, what he thinks they will also think in Russia. I desire, above all things, that he should be the bearer of the news—and of good news. Tell me if this can be managed as I propose?

I am delighted at what the King has done, and congratulate you both on the matter and the manner of the doing.

A thousand kindest regards.

May 4th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Unfortunately Sir James Graham and the chief Lords of the Admiralty are all attending the King to-day at Woolwich, and I can have no communication with them till they return. But I have sent to the Admiralty to say that I must have means

of conveyance, if possible, for Count Orloff, so as to ensure his arrival at Hamburg the 9th. I think there can be no doubt that this may be managed; but I cannot speak positively for the reasons I have given. I will write again as soon as I have an answer to the communication I have made to the Admiralty.

Yours in great haste,

G.

P.S.—The Cabinet meets at half-past four, but many of the members are absent.

Friday [*May 4th*, 1832].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am just returned from the Council, and I hope the ratifications may be exchanged to-night when the Conference meets at nine. In this case Count Orloff may, perhaps, be able to leave London to-night. If not, he may either go in the *Lightning* steamboat, which is to carry the Fitzclarences, or in the *Comet*, which shall be ready for him on Sunday, and entirely at his orders; but it is not fitted up with accommodations for passengers, though it is an excellent vessel. Will you have the goodness to communicate this to Count Orloff? The *Comet* is one of the Government steamboats.

In great haste, ever yours.

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Saturday, May 5th, 1832.

Orloff is gone, my dear lord, but he charged me to express to you his most grateful thanks for this

last proof of your goodwill towards him, in offering in your note to me last night to let him have the *Comet* for taking him over to Hamburg. He would gratefully have accepted the offer had the negotiations not been brought to a close that same evening. Happily everything was concluded, and an hour later he was on board the steam-packet. Besides being very happy at being the bearer of the good news, he carries away a most agreeable remembrance of his sojourn here, of the many acts of kindness of which he has been the object, and especially of the cordial manner in which he was treated by you. You have in him an ardent admirer.

Good-bye, my dear lord; I congratulate both you and myself on the exchange of the ratifications; it restores Europe to its equilibrium. Let England and Russia only keep well together, and the peace of Europe will not be disturbed. Orloff was much pleased by all that you said to him on the subject of the relations existing between the two countries. Every word you said had its value.

A thousand kind regards.

Downing Street,
May 5th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your note gave me the greatest pleasure. I took a great fancy to Orloff, and it is a great gratification to me to be assured by you that he left England with a favourable impression of me. It can hardly be necessary for me to assure you that it has been my most anxious wish to preserve a good understanding

with the Continental Powers, and particularly with Russia, and that when anything has occurred that seemed to threaten an interruption of the concert which is so necessary to the peace of Europe, it has been felt by me more in sorrow than in anger. The ratifications being now exchanged, I will only look forward to the means of making them effectual. On two of the three modifications, viz., the route by Sittard, and the capitalization of the debt, there ought to be—I think there will be—little difficulty.

The question then will reduce itself to the internal navigation, and with respect to this I should be well disposed to any arrangements that may be necessary to save the *amour propre*, or to secure the rights of sovereignty of the Dutch. But there must be this outlet for the commerce of Antwerp. It is absolutely necessary to the existence of Belgium; and surely it is for the interest of the Powers of the Continent to place that country in a situation in which she will not find herself under the necessity of seeking her advantage in a closer connection with France. I shall trust, therefore, to Prince Lieven receiving such instructions, after the representations which will be made to your Emperor by Orloff, as will enable him to proceed frankly and effectually in supporting the measures necessary to a final settlement on the principle which I have stated.

We had an immense dinner yesterday, the most remarkable incident in which was the Duke of Cumberland's being behind the screen to hear the speeches.

I wish I could say when it will be in my power to call on you. God bless you.

Ever affectionately yours,

GREY.

[Parliament reassembled after the Easter recess on May 7, and on that evening, in Committee, Lord Lyndhurst moved 'that the question of enfranchisement should precede that of disfranchisement.' The motion was carried against the Government by a majority of thirty-five. The Cabinet, on meeting the next day (8th), recommended the creation of fifty new Peers. The King, after some hours' consideration, refused, and Lord Grey resigned.]

To Earl Grey.

London,
Tuesday, May 8th [1832].

Well, my dear lord, I am altogether struck dumb! What am I to think of the events of last night? I am loath to take up your time in the midst of affairs of such gravity, but I cannot conceal from you my anxiety, and no one but yourself can reassure me. I do not ask you to tell me any secrets, but pray send me a few words to tell me that there is no cause for disquietude; this is all I need.

Your last letter to me was of the best—kind, conciliatory, everything that we on our part could desire. It is more than ever urgent for us, now, to stand together; the state of France is, alas! by no means reassuring. There is every reason to fear that the present Ministry there will not be able to keep on its legs, and that it will be the faction who desire commotions and conquest which will obtain the upper hand.

Our union alone will neutralize this danger, and with you in power I should always feel that affairs were both safe and sound. I beseech you once more to send me a few lines.

A thousand kindest regards.

Downing Street,
May 9th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I did not get your note till after twelve last night, on my return from the Cabinet, which was held after my return, with the Chancellor, from Windsor. At that time, however, I could have told you nothing. I have now to inform you that our resignations have been accepted, and that we only hold our offices till a new Administration can be appointed. I have not time for another word.

Ever yours,
G.

To Earl Grey.

Thursday, 10*th* [*May*, 1832].

How sad your note of yesterday made me, my dear lord! what an unexpected event! what a surprise for Europe! and what will be the consequences? Pray see me as soon as you have a moment to spare. At present I suppose all your time is taken up, and my sending this note even to you is an indiscretion; but I could not keep myself from writing you a few words to express all the sorrow I feel, and to offer you my most tender sympathy.

May 10*th*, 1832.

A thousand thanks for your very kind note, dearest Princess. Personally, what has happened is no cause of regret to me; and were it not for my fear of what the consequences of it may be to the King and to the country, I should look forward with real pleasure to the season when I may return to Howick. Perhaps

your long-promised visit to me there may be accomplished. This would be more than a compensation for any annoyances I have suffered. You rightly suppose that just at this moment my time is a good deal occupied, but I hope soon to be restored to my beloved idleness, and I certainly shall not be remiss in seizing the first opportunity of assuring you in person how much and how sincerely

I ever am, dearest Princess,

Yours most affectionately,

G.

[Lord Lyndhurst, on the resignation of Lord Grey, was commissioned by the King to form a Government. He applied to the Duke of Wellington, who agreed to join him in an Administration prepared to carry a moderate Reform Bill. Sir R. Peel, however, refused absolutely to join, and his example was at once imitated by Goulburn and Croker. On Monday, May 14, the debate began in the Commons on a petition of the City of London, praying that the House would refuse supplies until the Reform Bill had become law. Greville ('Diary,' ii. 299) characterizes it as 'such a scene of violence and excitement as never had been exhibited within those walls.' The next day the Duke of Wellington informed the King that it was impossible for him and his friends to form an Administration.]

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday, 15th [May, 1832].

Last night's debate seems to me of so decisive a nature that I cannot think the day will pass without your having something of importance to announce to me. Remember, my dear lord, the interest I take in it all, and give me news that we are to have you again as Premier. You will have been able to judge from the regrets my husband expressed to you yesterday, that, politically speaking, this event will be agreeable to us; personally, you well know how ambitious I am

for you, and though I shall have to abate somewhat of my pretensions in the matter of your visits, which, in their frequency and the renewal of the old terms of intimacy, were already affording me so much pleasure, I must console myself for the deprivation by the increase to your fame, and that assuredly, whatever else may happen, is great to-day. Let me have a line, therefore, my dear lord, to say whether you take office again.

A thousand tender regards.

Downing Street,
May 15th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I need not tell you that the Duke of Wellington has been obliged to acknowledge his inability to form an Administration. I have since had a communication from the King, to which I have sent an answer, but I cannot say decisively that it will lead to our continuance in office. It may, or it may not—this is very diplomatic; but I cannot say more at present. I have not another moment.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Friday, May [18*th*,* 1832].

Do not accuse me of being indiscreet, my dear lord, if I write to ask you for some confirmation of the hope you sent me yesterday. The fact is, my husband desires to send off a messenger to Petersburg to-night by the Hamburg steamboat, and it would be very

* Dated in error 16th.

important for him to be able to say for a fact that we are to have you once more at the head of the Administration. You said nothing positive yesterday in the House of Lords. If what you may be able to tell me is a secret, I can promise you it will be inviolable, except for Petersburg; and telling me, I think, will be no indiscretion.

I would repeat to you what I told you yesterday—be in your triumph (which is great) as noble and magnanimous as you were in defeat. It is only a great man who can act thus; your dignity and moderation have raised you more, if possible, now, even than before, in my esteem. At the present time, more than ever do I wish you success, for the times are difficult, and the conduct of the Tories has made the difficulties all the greater. I think the whole of Europe has been stirred up by these last ten days.

So M. Périer is dead!* He is a very great loss indeed.

Adieu; I must take all your fame to console me for the ruin of my plans and projects; for in my mind's eye I already had you coming daily to talk to me, as was your wont in past times; and, believe me, nothing during the last year and a half has made up to me for those pleasant habits of intimacy.

A thousand kindest regards.

P.S.—The Tories, with whom I had some conversation yesterday, were all enraged against Peel.† Mrs.

* In April M. Casimir Périer had accompanied the Duke of Orleans on a visit to the cholera patients at the Hôtel Dieu. Three days later he was struck down, and after lingering six weeks died of the cholera on May 16.

† Sir R. Peel had refused either to be Premier, or to take office under the Duke of Wellington, and bring forward the modified Reform Bill which the latter had wished to take office in order to carry.

Arbuthnot, on the other hand, told me she was ashamed of the Tories, and that they had only got what they deserved!!

Downing Street,
May 18th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

If you read my speech in the *Times* (if it is not very incorrectly given), you will know nearly all I can tell you with respect to our present situation, with the following addition, which I make in *strict confidence.*

When I saw you at the Drawing-room, and when I went to the House, I had, in consequence of communications which I had had from St. James's in the morning, every reason to believe that the Duke of Wellington and others would have *declared* that they abandoned all further opposition to the Bill, which I should have thought a sufficient security for my power to carry it; and in that case I had the King's authority to declare that I continued in his service. Instead of such a declaration, the Duke of Wellington, in giving what he called an explanation of his conduct, made a most violent attack upon me, but said nothing on which I could rely with respect to his future conduct. He was followed by Lyndhurst, *et cetera*, as you will see in the papers, each endeavouring to exceed in acrimony and bitterness those who had preceded him.

I figured in these attacks successively as Necker, Robespierre, and Cromwell. I spoke after Lyndhurst with moderation, certainly, considering the provocation I had received, or rather, perhaps, with too much

tameness; but it was impossible for me, in the circumstances in which I then stood, to make the declaration which I had contemplated, and I could only say that nothing was yet definitely settled. And such is the fact—the Cabinet meets at twelve to consider what step we should now take; but the matter *must* be settled to-day, one way or the other. These men are mad, and I wish they may not be found to have pushed things to an extreme which may produce irreparable mischief.

Remember, this is written in full reliance on the secrecy which you have promised.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most affectionately yours,
GREY.

[The King, finding he had no alternative, empowered Lord Grey to create, should it prove necessary, an unlimited number of Peers. Fortunately, however, the necessity did not occur. The Duke of Wellington and other Peers abstained from taking any further part in the discussion on the Bill, and the Opposition became paralyzed by the abstention of its leaders. The Bill passed the Committee at the end of May, was read a third time on June 4, with a majority of eighty-four, and received the Royal Assent on the 7th.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
June 6th [1832].

MY DEAR LORD,

I congratulate you on your most complete victory, for never before was such discomfiture seen in an enemy's camp. Why, however, the Bill should not have been passed, and everybody have kept his dignity, I know not. But such was not to be the case, and I am quite of the opinion of those among the Tories who hold that their cause has been damaged and

disgraced by the conduct of their chiefs. I dined yesterday with a number of them, and the whole time they did nothing but quarrel with each other; but I will tell you more about this when we meet. By the way, however, when are we to meet? Will you come and dine here Friday? I think you told me your recess began Thursday. It would be doing me such a pleasure coming; or else Saturday, if this day suits you better than the other. Only let me know your wishes in the matter. I should prefer the Friday, for it would be sooner.

Orloff begs me to remember him to you, and again to thank you for all the kindness you showed him. His letter is of May 24, and is in answer to one giving the news that you were out. He ends thus:

'Ministre ou non, Lord Grey restera toujours digne de l'estime de tout honnête homme. L'Empereur m'a dit qu'il l'avait toujours jugé comme le plus galant homme possible.'

I give you his words just as they stand, for what is said of a Minister who is out of office is the candid truth; and at *that* time, as far as concerned Petersburg, you had ceased to be Premier.

Your speech of the day before yesterday is superb. I should have been made anxious by what you said about the state of your health had I not learnt that the evening before you had been seen at Neumann's concert.

Adieu, my dear lord, and a thousand kind regards.

[In Paris, on June 5, the funeral of General Lamarque, an officer well known for his democratical opinions, was the signal for a Republican demonstration. The barricades were raised, but the prompt measures of Marshal Soult soon triumphed over the disorderly mob.]

Downing Street,
June 7th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have been very unwell ever since the last debate in the House of Lords. Indeed, I was, at the time, so ill that I thought I should have dropped while I was speaking.

I am going this evening, after having passed the Bill, to Sheen, and hope to be able to stay there quietly till Sunday, and during that time to have the pleasure of seeing you frequently. But I cannot, in my present infirm state, venture to dine out.

We have no accounts at the F.O. from Paris, and I hear Talleyrand has none; but I have seen a copy of a telegraphic despatch which has been received by Rothschild. It states that the King put himself at the head of the troops and of the National Guard; also, all showed the greatest *dévouement*, and that the insurrection occasioned by the Carlists* and the Republicans united had been completely put down. Lady Grey has a letter from Lady Keith of the preceding day, in which she mentions many arrests and discoveries made in the seizure of the papers of Carlists—amongst others, of a list amongst the papers of the secretary of the Duke de Fitzjames, containing the names of a great many persons who had engaged to join the insurrectionists in La Vendée whenever called upon to do so. This may perhaps have pre-

* The *Carlists* of 1832 were the partizans of Charles X.

cipitated the movement, the effect of which, I hope, will be to give additional strength to the Government.

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

East Sheen,
June 8th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Since you were here I have received a despatch from Paris of the 6th. It adds little to what we have already heard. The despatch appears to have been written about one o'clock in the day; but the postscript (the hour is not given) says that the insurgents still held out, and that a heavy firing was going on in the neighbourhood of the Place de Grève and the Pont Neuf.

It states that, from the number of troops collected, and the disposition of troops made by Marshal Soult, no fear was entertained of the result.

I send your handkerchief which you had left behind.

Ever yours,

G.

CHAPTER VII.

LORD DURHAM'S EMBASSY.

Lord Durham's Embassy to St. Petersburg—The Debates in the House of Commons on Poland—Lord Grey's Speech in the House of Lords—Obstinacy of the King of Holland—Don Pedro of Brazil sails for Portugal—Lands, and gains Possession of Oporto—The Discussion in Parliament on the Anglo-Dutch Loan—Respective Forces of Don Pedro and Don Miguel—Lord Howick's Marriage—The Decrees of the German Diet—Reception of Lord Durham by the Czar—The Russian Court at Peterhof—Count Nesselrode's Opinion of Lord Durham—The Czar's Visit to the *Talavera*—Lord Heytesbury—Marriage of King Leopold—M. Van de Weyer—Lord Howe and Lord Grey's Letter—The King of Holland must be brought to Reason—Prince Talleyrand's View of King Leopold's Conduct—Greek Affairs; Prince Otho of Bavaria—Lord Durham to visit Berlin on his return Journey—Belgium and the Treaty of November confirming the Twenty-four Articles—Complaints of Admiral Ricord—Russia's Partiality towards Holland—The Rights of Belgium—Lord Howe's Answer—Arrival in London of the Duchesse d'Angoulême—Her View of the Duchesse de Berri's Proceedings—Accident to Prince George of Cumberland; his Blindness—Report of the Death of the King of Spain—Letter from Count Orloff—Lord Palmerston's proposed Alteration in the Treaty of November—The Conference on Belgium breaks up—Arrival of Lord Durham—English Treaty with France for the Settlement of the Belgian Question—Don Miguel at Oporto—Request that Lord Heytesbury shall return as Ambassador to St. Petersburg.

[Lord Heytesbury, the Ambassador at St. Petersburg, being in bad health and wishing to resign his post, the Government had decided on sending Lord Durham on a special embassy to the Czar, the purpose of which, according to the *Times* of Wednesday, June 27, was to effect 'a direct and strenuous interference on the part of this country in favour of the glorious and deeply-outraged Poles.' In point of fact, as afterwards became known, Lord Durham's mission was to induce Russia to join the Western Powers in measures of coercion towards Holland, in order to bring the Belgian Question to a satisfactory issue.]

To Earl Grey.

London,
Wednesday, 27th [June, 1832].

I found your note,* my dear lord, at one o'clock this morning on getting home from the Duke of Wellington's ball, or, rather, his rabble-rout, for never did I see a mob to equal that in his drawing-rooms.

Your letter gave me a surprise, for I had only heard Lord Durham's mission spoken of vaguely and merely as a possibility. They will wonder at it much in Russia, and do more than wonder if the object of his mission were really that of which the *Times* of this morning speaks. But, for the first time, I think the *Times* has not told the truth. In any case, I regret the article, for it may create a bad impression. Lady Durham will, I know, meet with a most cordial welcome in Russia, and I shall be only too happy to offer you my counsel in anything that may be of use to her.

As I am obliged to set out early for Richmond, and as the Levée and the deputations after the Levée will probably keep you till very late, I will ask for you when calling on Lady Grey in Downing Street before one o'clock to-day; and we can then talk over briefly any matters of interest or importance in regard to Lady Durham's journey.

Adieu for the present, and meanwhile a thousand friendly regards.

[On June 28, a debate took place in the House of Commons on the Polish Question. Several members spoke in condemnation of the late proceedings of Russia in Poland, and Mr. O'Connell went

* Missing.

so far as to call the Emperor Nicholas 'a miscreant.' This elicited an expression of regret from Lord Palmerston at the use of such language in the House, upon which Mr. Hume said he would not only call the Emperor 'a miscreant, but a monster in human form.']

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, 29th [June, 1832].

My Dear Lord,

How deeply I regret the discussion that took place yesterday in the House of Commons, and, above all, the silence of Ministers while such insulting words were being spoken of the Emperor. Hitherto, any such language, personally insulting to a Sovereign in friendly alliance with England, has always been met by reproval in the Government papers. If my memory does not fail me, you have yourself taken objection to unbecoming expressions with regard to Louis Philippe.

Lord Palmerston's silence will have a bad effect at Petersburg, and despite all that we are trying to do to ensure Lord Durham a cordial reception, I fear much that this circumstance may have an unfavourable influence in the matter of his welcome. Could you not try and repair, what I should call Lord Palmerston's forgetfulness, by some few words to-night, that either Lord Althorp or Lord John Russell might say? I assure you if matters are to remain as they were left last night, it may entail disagreeable consequences. What I am saying to you is in all friendship, and is solely due to the anxiety I feel that Lord Durham should meet with a good reception. My husband was charmed at his interview with him yesterday.

Adieu, my dear lord; I am busy writing letters in

your daughter's behalf to go by to-night's messenger. I hope I am to meet you at dinner to-morrow at Bülow's.

owning Street,
June 29th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I can only repeat what I said an hour ago to the Prince, that you cannot be more vexed than I am at what passed last night in the House of Commons. I did all I could to prevent the discussion, and (when I failed in that endeavour) to make the *form* of the motion unobjectionable. But I always feared, in consequence of the excited feeling which prevails on this subject, that there would be violent expressions in the debate. Palmerston *did* state his regret that such expressions should be used, and his disapprobation of them; but the attempt to check them only seemed to increase the irritation.

I have just seen Palmerston, and, if an opportunity is given him, he will state more strongly his disapprobation of the language used last night.

I am delighted at the prospect of meeting you to-morrow at Bülow's.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Yours most affectionately,
GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday morning, July 4th [1832].

I have just read yesterday's debate, and I make all haste to let you know what pleasure every one

of your words has given me. Thanks, my dear lord, for having thus repaired all that was left undone the other day in the House of Commons. The fact itself gives me every satisfaction, and coming from you, it affords me a double pleasure.

I gather, from what our Plenipotentiaries at the Conference say, that they do not consider the answer sent by the Dutch in so bad a light as Palmerston would have it; on the contrary, that there are some positive hopes of coming to an arrangement; and further, they hold Zuylen* has a sufficient latitude of action to allow of the negotiation being accommodated. I wish you were of a like mind; for I had hoped the matter might thus have been brought to a conclusion. Palmerston is occasionally hasty, and too positive in his judgments. I wish I knew what you think about it.

So the dinner at Sion House is put off because of Princess Louise's condition.† I imagine the other breakfasts will have a like fate.

Adieu, my dear lord. I am going in to town to-day to take part in the *Conference* at Almack's—and for nothing else. When are you coming out to East Sheen?

A thousand kindest regards.

* One of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries representing the King of the Netherlands at the Conference. Those representing the other four Powers were Prince Esterhazy and Baron Wessenberg for Austria: Baron Bülow for Prussia; Prince Lieven and Count Matuscewitz for Russia; and Lord Palmerston for England. The King of Holland still refused to accept the Twenty-four Articles.

† Eldest daughter of Louis Philippe, who married, August 9 of this year, King Leopold of Belgium. She was at this time seriously ill.

Downing Street,
July 6th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your note yesterday, and should have expressed immediately the pleasure it gave me, but that I was so harassed the whole day that I had not a moment to myself. I had before told you that nothing but the difficulty of finding a favourable opportunity would prevent my expressing the regret and disapprobation which I felt at the language used in the House of Commons. For once Lord Londonderry assisted my wishes, and the effect of what I said would have been better if the Duke of Wellington had not thought proper to do all he could to diminish it. I should be unwilling to suspect him of intentionally throwing difficulties in the way of the Government in its intercourse with foreign Powers. But he certainly has, both upon this and upon other occasions, done what could have no other result.

I trust that Lord Durham's mission will prove useful, though I know (not from the communication alone which you made to me) the strength of the prejudice against him. I know, too, that this extends beyond his person; that your Government entertains something like horror of the principles and measures of the present Administration, and looks with anxiety to the formation of a new Ministry of a Tory character, and even expects it, before the dissolution of Parliament. They are very shortsighted if they think this would prove more favourable to their views. We may be overturned, though I see little reason to fear such an event at present; but take my word for it, if a Tory Administration should succeed, it would not

last six months, and the Government would fall, not into our hands, but into those of a party professing opinions far exceeding ours. You will do well, therefore, to correct the impression which the representations of others, I know, have made at St. Petersburg.

I do not quite go the length of Palmerston with respect to the Dutch answer. But the counter-project, as it now stands, certainly could not be accepted by the Conference ; and after the experience we have had of the King of Holland, of his impracticable nature, his disposition to dispute everything, and his skill in every species of chicane, I confess I have great fears that, by opening the negotiation again on any ground, we should again throw everything into a state of uncertainty, with little hope of a speedy settlement.

I write in great haste, amidst constant interruptions, and, I fear, not very intelligibly.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

[The ex-Emperor, Don Pedro, who, at Terceira, in April, had proclaimed himself Regent of Portugal, in the name of his daughter, Queen Donna Maria, had succeeded in raising a loan, and was now sending an expedition from the Azores against Oporto to fight Don Miguel. The expedition landed in safety, and Don Pedro was welcomed by the people. He gained possession of Oporto July 8, but was immediately afterwards besieged there by the Miguelites, though for a long time no decisive advantage was gained by either party.]

Downing Street,
July 9th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I conclude you will have heard that Don Pedro sailed on the 27th, his convoy consisting of a

hundred sail. I have seen a private letter from Villa Real, which confirms what I had before heard, of his being discontented and desponding. He does not accompany the expedition, but comes home with Mesdames de Palmella and Villa Flor. Poor Palmella had lost his son. He states the army to be in an excellent state of discipline, and well officered. But he does not state that they could land more than 6,000 effective men. The point of disembarkation was expected to be on the northern coast of Portugal. This is the substance of a letter from P[almella] to Lord Palmerston.

You will, of course, say nothing of this till you hear from other quarters.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Yours most entirely,
GREY.

[The Convention mentioned in the following letter refers to the Anglo-Dutch loan, at this time being violently attacked by the Opposition. During the course of the war against Napoleon, Russia had borrowed twenty-five million florins from a banking-house at Amsterdam. At the conclusion of peace in 1815, Russia, England, and the Netherlands conjointly made themselves responsible for the debt, but it was stipulated that, should the Belgian provinces (which were united to Holland in 1815) pass at any period from the sovereignty of the Dutch King, his liability for the debt was to cease. This was what had now happened, in consequence of the Revolution of July, and the recognition of the Belgian King by Great Britain in November, 1831. The Government held that England had no right to take advantage of her own breach of the Treaty of 1815 to relieve herself from a charge which the Treaty imposed, and which she had undertaken to bear; though by the letter of the arrangement, no doubt, she was no longer liable to pay any portion of the Dutch-Russian loan. After many debates in the Commons, and three several attacks by the Tories on the policy of the new Convention, the Ministers ultimately succeeded in obtaining satisfactory majorities.]

To Earl Grey.

*Tuesday evening, 10th [July, 1832].**

Many thanks, my dear lord, for the accounts you have given me of Don Pedro's expedition. It was from you I first learnt that he had put himself in motion. I hope we may soon hear of his arrival in Portugal, and of his success, for I cannot help wishing well, and the best of success, to any enterprise in which Palmella is associated.

I have seen some Tories to-day. They leave me in doubt as to the issue of the debate which is to take place to-morrow about our Convention. Those who are most violent say that the only way the Government can carry the matter through would be for them to ask for a Bill of Indemnity. Others, without giving a direct opinion, say that all their party will vote against the Government on this occasion. The Duke of Wellington is, of all, the most reserved on this point. Londonderry is going down to Durham; you will not, therefore, have to answer any further interrogations from him.

Never have I known a more favourable wind for the Baltic passage. Your daughter and son-in-law will certainly reach Petersburg this week. I am impatient for the first news of their arrival.

Adieu, my dear lord. When are we to see each other again? This is a long separation. Are you to be at East Sheen again soon?

A thousand regards.

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* Dated in error June 10. July from the docket.

Downing Street,
July 16th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I would have sent a messenger this morning, with an account of the landing of Don Pedro, if I had not thought it certain to appear in the morning papers. We know little more than is stated in them. The amount of his force is, as they say, about 7,500 men. Miguel has, according to a return which I have seen, about 22,000 regular troops, and as many more militia, making, on the whole, about 45,000. The success of the enterprise, therefore, depends on a defection from the army of Don Miguel, of which, up to the time when the accounts came away, there was not much indication.

As I know the interest you take in everything that concerns me, I must tell you that a marriage is likely to take place between my eldest son and Miss M. Copley.* It is not absolutely settled, but probably will be so immediately. I hope you are edified by the kindness, consistency, and good faith of your friends, the Tories, in opposing your Loan. I don't know what is to be their motion to-day, but if they could unite with the Economists and Radicals in refusing to grant the money, the result of the division might not be secure. I must caution you against placing any reliance on their friendship—particularly on that of Peel and Aberdeen. *I speak advisedly.*

I wish you would let me know when you send anything to Petersburg, that I may write to Lambton. I shall not scruple giving you the trouble of adding a

* In August, 1832, Lord Howick married Maria, daughter of Sir J. Copley, Bart.

letter to your packet, under the assurance that I will write no treason.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Yours most truly,
G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
17*th* [*July*, 1832].

Very many thanks, my dear lord, for your note of yesterday. I begin with the matter that must interest you most, namely, Lord Howick's marriage. You have for your future daughter-in-law a person of great merit and sound good sense; I know a good deal of her through Lady Granville, who is extremely her friend. You have my most sincere good wishes for the marriage.

The gaining of Oporto, although it is a success for Don Pedro's side, gives no guarantee as yet for the ultimate issue of the struggle. The Duke of Wellington was talking to me a week ago of the expedition, and said: 'If Don Pedro begins by Lisbon, Don Miguel may lose his cause; but if he goes first to the north, he himself is lost.' The phrase is rather dogmatic, but I think there is, none the less, much truth in it. I shall be very anxious to get the first news. As to what you tell me about the Tories, believe me, I am old enough to have learnt that with public men it is politics and personal interests which dominate all other affections.

My husband sends off his home despatches regularly every Friday, by the Hamburg steamboat, and his bag goes with the Government mail. Whenever

he may be sending a special messenger you shall have information of it, at least a day previous, in case the occasion should serve you. I am extremely impatient to learn the first news of Lord Durham's arrival, and I entreat of you to let me know. You say nothing to me of coming back to East Sheen. Why waste your time and your health in that villainous London? I wish so much you were here.

Adieu, my dear lord; again my thanks for your letter, and the news it contains, and for your kind recollection of me. I value it all very much.

A thousand kindest regards.

[On June 28, 1832, the German Diet confirmed the Six Articles, generally known as the Carlsbad Decrees, which Prince Metternich had sent in for the approval of the various German Courts, on April 12 preceding. By these Articles all popular assemblies and festivals were forbidden, and the Sovereigns of the Confederation undertook to give military assistance to any Government that was threatened by revolution.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Thursday, July 19th [1832].

I am to inform you, my dear lord, that my husband intends sending off a messenger to-morrow for St. Petersburg; but that in all cases he considers sending despatches by the Hamburg steamboat the quickest route; our Consul at Hamburg forwards them on immediately to Lübeck, and there they catch the steamboat running between that port and St. Petersburg.

Would you in the present case send my husband

your letters during the afternoon of to-morrow? Tell me, pray, some news, if there be any. I do not imagine you will take the Protocol of the Diet of Frankfort in high tragedy, as do the newspapers. It is only the application of a principle established in the year '21, and which England herself then recognised. It must be acknowledged it was getting high time for Germany to look to her own internal security, and certainly the tranquillity of a State is worth the sacrifice of a certain amount of useless chattering. I wonder when you will have the *clôture* in your Parliament? How I should like to see some of your talkative members left stranded high and dry. I am getting very impatient to see you at East Sheen, and to resume once more our pleasant talks. They endanger no Government.

Adieu, my dear lord; write me a few words meanwhile, and do not forget me.

Yours ever,

July 20th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Thank you for your kind note of yesterday. I will send a letter in the course of the morning to go by your courier; but I find letters go regularly through our Consul at Hamburg, every Tuesday, to be forwarded by the steam-packet from Lübeck.

Prince Lieven would tell you that I had received letters from Lord Durham from Copenhagen, where they arrived early in the morning of the 10th; they had stopped to take in coals for the steamer, and were to sail again the same evening. They would arrive, therefore, in all probability about the 15th. I shall

settle my family at Sheen to-morrow, and be there myself as much as I can during the remainder of the Session. I am not sure whether I shall be able to go to-morrow till after dinner, but I shall be there all Sunday, and hope to see you. We shall then be able to talk comfortably on all that is passing.

You see we are to have another fight to-night upon your Loan, and from what passed in the House of Lords we are, I conclude, to be attacked on the Greek Loan also. As 'Messieurs' (to use the favourite phrase of the Great Captain) are not very scrupulous in their use of means to annoy the Government, their assurances that the money would not be withheld would not have been good for much if they had beaten us. In that case you may be assured not one shilling would have been obtained from the House of Commons. If the Belgic Question is not settled, you will have war very shortly over all Europe.

God bless you,

Ever yours,

G.

East Sheen,
July 30th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received a confirmation of the news in the *Morning Herald*, by which it appears that after a very severe action, at Porto Ferrari, about six miles east of Oporto, the result was decidedly in favour of Don Pedro. It remains to be seen what effect it will have on the people of the country, and on Don Miguel's army.

Yours ever,

G.

East Sheen,
Monday [*July* 30*th*, 1832].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I enclose a note which Lambton wrote to me after his arrival at Petersburg, which will show you how much he was pleased with the Emperor's reception of him. For the particulars I must wait till I see Palmerston's letter.

Yours affectionately,
GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Monday, 30*th* [*July*, 1832].

Very many thanks, my dear lord, for your two notes, the first about Don Pedro, and the last containing Lord Durham's letter. I am enchanted that he should have been so well pleased at the reception the Emperor gave him. What follows must depend on Lord Durham himself, and I trust the end will justify the beginning.

Once more a thousand thanks. I am very curious to know what Lord Palmerston has heard.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Tuesday, 31*st* [*July*, 1832].

Herewith, my dear lord, a letter from Orloff, received by the messenger last night. I prefer showing it you entire. Pray read it all, and note especially what was the effect produced by the debates in the House of Commons on Poland. Since then they must have learnt all that you said in the House of

Lords, and on this point I can promise you that the Emperor will have been much gratified. *You* have always been our hero.

If you have seen Lord Durham's letter to Lord Palmerston, pray give me some account of it. All that he may have written about his interview with the Emperor interests me greatly. I should have come myself to East Sheen this morning, had I not caught a cold, and this with the prospect of a day at Sion House, which cannot fail to be fatiguing.

A thousand friendly regards.

East Sheen,
July 31*st*, 1832.

A thousand thanks, dearest Princess, for sending me Orloff's letter, which is most gratifying to me personally, and expresses sentiments which, on my part, are cordially returned. The impression made by the debate on Poland was naturally to be expected. You know how much I lamented at the time the indiscretion and intemperance of that discussion, and how anxious I was to obviate their effects.

I have not yet seen Lord Durham's *private* letter to Palmerston; but I have read his despatch, which gives a full account of his interview with the Emperor. It seems that H.M. visited Cronstadt on the morning of the 17th to review the division of his fleet lying in that harbour, and immediately on his arrival sent an officer on board the *Talavera* to express his wish 'to receive Lord Durham as a private individual, for the purpose of making his acquaintance before he presented his credentials as Ambassador.' In consequence of this gracious message, Lord Durham

immediately went on board the Imperial yacht (the statement that the Emperor went on board the *Talavera* appears to have been erroneous), and had a long conversation with his Majesty, which principally turned on the affairs of Belgium, for the details of which I have not time.

Nothing could be more cordial and gracious than the Emperor's reception of Lord Durham, accompanied by the expression of a wish that the intercourse between H.M. and him should be of the most unreserved nature, and deprived of all ceremony; and stating that it was for this purpose that he had taken this opportunity of having Lord Durham introduced to him privately.

At the conclusion of his account of his interview, which was of considerable duration, Lord Durham adds: 'H.I.M.'s manner was most gracious, repeatedly shaking me by the hand when declaring both his personal kindly disposition towards myself individually and my country generally.'

Nothing can be more satisfactory than this, and I trust—indeed, I cannot doubt—that the suite will be equally so. I wish you could have called, that I might have shown you the despatch itself, which I am obliged to send back to London. Louisa complains very much of the cold, but is delighted with the novelty of the scene.

The letters which had been sent to our Consul had not arrived, which was the cause of no house having been provided for them.

Excuse haste.

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

East Sheen,
Aug. 5th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

We have letters to-night from my daughter (none from Lord Durham), giving an account of their introduction at Peterhof, where they dined and were at a ball. She speaks in raptures of the Emperor and Empress, and gives the preference to your Court, very much, to ours.

Lord Heytesbury has had a better passage than Lord Durham. Three and a half days from Cronstadt to Copenhagen, and five days from thence to Woolwich.

Bad news from Brussels—it is now Leopold's turn to be unreasonable; and I believe we must come at last to my proposal of drawing a cordon round them, and leaving them to fight it out.

Ever yours,
G.

P.S.—Lady Durham's letters are dated the 25th ultimo.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Aug. 6th, 1832.

After having seen you yesterday, my dear lord, I received some more letters from Petersburg, dated July 28, in which they write me further details of the reception given to Lord Durham at our Court.

The same question continually recurs, 'Is Lord Grey satisfied? for it is he whom we have always in mind in all we do to show consideration and friendship for his son-in-law and daughter.'

Shall I say, my dear lord, that you are satisfied? They are so, certainly, in my country, at the way Lord Durham deals with business and treats of all political questions. They think him remarkably clever, and say that he has a manner of discussing affairs that is both straightforward and honest. This, with us, is held greatly in esteem. I assure you all the success he is gaining touches me as though *I* were his father-in-law.

If you have heard anything from him, pray send me a few lines; also, on general affairs, do not forget me during these days of absence. What lovely weather you are missing here!

Adieu, my dear lord.

A thousand kind regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Downing Street,
Aug. 9th, 1832.

A thousand and thousand thanks, dearest Princess, for your very kind note. I should indeed be most ungrateful if I could be insensible to the consideration for myself, and to the kindness and condescension which have marked the Emperor's reception of Lord Durham.

Since I saw you, I have received letters both from him and from my daughter, down to the 29th ultimo, and they both speak in raptures of everything they have seen and met with. Lambton has conceived a great admiration of the Emperor, from all his conversations with him, and speaks also with great satisfaction of his communications with Count Nesselrode. He is sensible, as he ought to be, of the kindness he

has received from everybody; but mentions particularly Generals Benkendorf and Czernicheff and Count Orloff, to whom, as well as to Count Nesselrode, I beg you will express how much I have felt their attentions.

The Emperor's visit to the *Talavera* delighted the officers and ship's company, and his magnificent present when he left the ship will make them drink his health with increased fervour. He was most gracious, and expressed the greatest pleasure at seeing the flags of Great Britain and Russia flying together on board the same ship. The pleasure that all this gives me is much increased by what you say of the impression made by Durham himself. I was sure it would be so, and I trust the error which prevailed as to the extent and danger of his views will be completely removed. In short, I cannot help anticipating all the good effects from this mission which it was my object to produce.

There is one subject on which I know you will not allow me to speak to you, though assuredly I should never think of doing so in a manner which could be offensive to the independence and dignity of your Government. But if something could be done to mitigate the condition of the poor Poles, what satisfaction it would give to this country and to Europe! You see we have had another debate on this subject in the House of Commons, and I hope were satisfied with the speeches of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, particularly of the latter. But you may judge of the feeling which has been created, and which it would be a mistake to suppose is confined to Radicals, when you read the speech of a

man so connected, and himself so little given to popular violence, as Lord Sandon.

I conclude you have seen Palmella, and probably will not have conceived better hopes than I have, from the account he gives of the state of things in Portugal.

I am just going to the wedding.* I hope to return to Sheen on Saturday, but am not certain, and that we shall be able to put an end to the Session before the end of next week.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Monday, 13*th* [*Aug.*, 1832].

I am much disappointed, my dear lord, that you should have remained in town.

John Russell told me yesterday that he did not think you would come back here before Thursday; and, further, he talks of an absence of six weeks at Howick, all of which quite upsets me. I will, at least, give myself the satisfaction of telling you of my vexation.

I have been spending a day at Stoke with the Seftons. Yesterday I saw Palmella again, very much changed, as you told me. His looks give me pain. I have at last had some talk with Lord Heytesbury. It is very interesting to hear all he has to tell of the details of Lord Durham's reception. He, also, said the Emperor had thought him extremely clever.

* Lord Howick's.

Well, my dear lord, and what news is there from Compiègne? So Leopold is married!* I do not know exactly why, but I augur it ill for him. His life has always been so full of uncertainty, and I do not think this marriage will bring him happiness.

I must offer you my felicitations that Thursday ends your Parliamentary worries. It is, indeed, a happy moment for a Premier!

Adieu, my dear lord. Bear me in mind.

A thousand regards.

Downing Street,
Aug. 13*th*, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I found I had so much to do in winding up the business of the Session, that it was in vain to think of going to Sheen. My present purpose is to be there for two or three days at the end of the week, and start for Howick, if I can get leave, on Monday; to be here again, when the whole Cabinet will assemble, the first week of October.

Van de Weyer† is coming over to treat, but I do not like the tone of Leopold's answer to Palmerston. The accounts from Portugal are rather more favourable to Don Pedro. If Sartorius‡ could capture or defeat Don Miguel's squadron, it would be a great event for him. Lord Dundonald would have done it. In the meantime, the horrors that are going on in Lisbon are beyond description.

* To Princess Louise, eldest daughter of Louis Philippe.

† Subsequently for many years Belgian Minister in London.

‡ Captain Sartorius was at this time in command of Don Pedro's fleet. His name had been removed from the Navy List.

I have this moment a letter of the 2nd from Lord Durham, repeating in the strongest terms the satisfaction at all that has passed with Nesselrode. He had not had any further conversation with the Emperor. He was thinking of going to Moscow, proposing not to be absent more than ten days, and looking to the commencement of his journey homewards about the middle of September.

I am impatient for the pleasure of seeing you, and much flattered at your expressing the same feeling; but what proof have I of it? God bless you.

Ever most affectionately yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Tunbridge Wells,
Tuesday, Aug. 14th [1832].

What will you say, my dear lord, at my sudden flight? I am just arrived here with my children. I was in want of change of air and some little relaxation, and have come to Tunbridge Wells in search of them; but for thirty-six hours only, and Thursday morning I go back to Richmond. I received your letter yesterday, and thank you for the news about Lord Durham. I am delighted that he continues pleased with everything.

I am sad at thinking of your going away, and for so long, too! Let me know whether it would be possible for you to come and dine with us Saturday at Richmond. The Cowpers and the Seftons will be coming. Send me a line to say if you accept. If you answer early, send it to our house in town; but

if you are delayed in writing, put it in the post, and address, 'Tunbridge Wells, Sussex Hotel,' for I shall only leave this Thursday after the post comes in.

Adieu, my dear lord. They are waiting for my letter, and I must hurry.

A thousand kindest regards.

P.S.—I am vexed by what you say about Leopold. I fear his marriage will somewhat mar his manners as regards England, and the support he gets on this one side will make him less docile towards the other. It is a pity.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Saturday, Aug. 25th [1832].

Well, my dear lord, so we are again reduced to letter-writing as in the old time. The last two years have gone by very quickly, and many things have gone along with them; if only our friendship remain I shall care little for what else goes. I imagine you to arrive at Howick to-day, and would I were arriving there too! but meanwhile, and till this can take place, I must communicate with you by letter. Some events are, however, occasionally brought about by the mere continual repetition that 'they ought to take place.'

In the meantime the Conference certainly does not make much way, and my advice would be that it should take its vacation, and inform the two contending parties that it will busy itself no more with either of them until they both ask for an intervention to effect

a settlement—after they themselves have found it quite impossible to effect it alone. Further, till this vacation be over, all recourse to arms should be forbidden, under penalty of a decision in all matters at present pending, against the one who should act on the aggressive. This is how I would arrange all their affairs—on a rainy morning at Richmond!

I dined the day before yesterday in town at Lord Palmerston's to meet the Flahaults. I met Palmella there; he was very sad and sorrowful. It appears to me that the news of this morning, which is that Don Miguel's fleet has returned to the Tagus, puts a better face on things.

Let me know, I beg of you, what may be the effect of the hint given to Lord Howe.* I am curious in the matter, and have not the slightest chance of hearing anything except from you. I have been thinking over your letter once more, and consider it quite admirable; it is dignified, full of delicacy, and in perfect good taste. I wish I knew for certain that the Queen would read it. I saw the Cumberlands this morning: they told me nothing new; but they seem to be on extremely intimate terms with the Court. By the way, the Duchess of Gloucester is very ill; they think she is dying of dropsy. Lady Falkland and Lady Westmeath have had cholera at Windsor so badly as to have been perfectly blue during some hours.

Adieu, my dear lord; write to me, I beg of you, and send me some news. Remember how, in old days, I used to be your gazetteer, and now I want

* Chamberlain to Queen Adelaide. He had recently voted against the Government, and had been dismissed. The Queen's wrath at his dismissal was, it is said, in consequence of her not having been informed by Lord Grey beforehand of what he intended to do.

something in return. What do you say of Charles X.'s proposal to establish himself in Austria?

A thousand most kind regards.

Howick,
Aug. 27th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your very kind letter this morning. I need not say what pleasure it gave me. But I dare not encourage the hope which it holds out of a chance of your coming to Howick. It would be too great happiness to have the full enjoyment of your society here without anything to interrupt or distract it.

We arrived here on Saturday all well, and I cannot describe to you the pleasure I felt in returning to my old haunts and occupations. But unfortunately boxes and letters follow me, and will not allow me the complete idleness which I covet.

This Belgium affair goes between me and my rest. You are the cause of its remaining so long in suspense, and you are doubly bound to exert yourselves to bring it to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. The first point to be insisted on is the *really* free navigation of the Scheldt. To this the King of Holland must be brought—saving any fair reserve of his rights of sovereignty—substantially and unequivocally to assent, which he has not as yet done. Then we may be able to deal with the other. But till he has a distinct assurance on this head, Leopold has right on his side.

I had a letter to-day from Taylor.* The letter (as you know was intended) had been given to Lord Howe on Wednesday before he left Windsor, but no

* Sir Herbert Taylor, William IV.'s private secretary.

answer had been received on Saturday when Taylor wrote. This looks as if he was taking the counsel of others, and if your friend and neighbour* is one, we may easily jump at the result. I have done, however, all that was possible on my part. I should be very glad to have my letter seen by the Queen. Not that I expect the impression created by the dismissal of Lord Howe ever to be effaced, but it is not for me to suggest it.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Aug. 28th [1832].

My husband is writing to you to-day, my dear lord, and I also wish to add a few lines. To my mind, Count Nesselrode's idea is an excellent one; and in the tour he suggests Lord Durham should make, there would be everything to be gained both for the public and for his own advantage. Your Government would certainly find some profit in becoming acquainted with the views of the various German Cabinets on the affairs which, at the present moment, are agitating that quarter of Europe; and Lord Durham, who is an important member of the Cabinet, would gain by the opportunity of thus becoming personally known to the various Sovereigns and their Ministers. This, at the present day, is a knowledge of no mean importance in politics. I feel sure that you must see it all from my point of view, and that your sanction will be given

* The Duke of Cumberland (?).

to a proposition which, it appears to me, is wholly in the interest of your country.

Pray write to me, my dear lord, for I am hungry for your letters, and it in no way suffices me to read in the newspapers about 'the merry peals' at Doncaster, etc. I have nothing new to send you. They tell me the Dukes of Cumberland and of Wellington are not exactly of one mind, and that the latter every day becomes more moderate in his views. They say, by-the-by, that his private affairs are in disorder, and that it is this that is annoying him so much.

I am just setting off for Panshanger, to spend a week there; but address your letters to London as before. My husband has heard from Paris that M. de Talleyrand is extremely angry at Leopold's conduct, and that in his opinion the Conference can and must demand of Leopold that he conform to its advice, seeing that, according to him (Talleyrand), the latest propositions of the King of Holland are perfectly reasonable. He is very much excited on this subject. He promises to return here by September 20, not before.

Adieu, my dear lord; I am waiting for news from you, and I send you all my warmest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Friday, Aug. 31st, 1832.

I received your letter of the 27th, my dear lord, late last night, and I will not let time go by without thanking you for it; all the more that at this distance from London there is no means of despatching

letters north on a Saturday, and I imagine this must go back to London before starting on its journey down to Howick.

For the last five or six days we have had a deluge here; to-day the weather is more gracious. There is as yet no one in the house, but people arrive to-night, and things are to begin to-morrow. My husband was sent for into town yesterday for Greek affairs.*

The Belgian Question, I think, is making no progress at all. It is enough to make one laugh or cry, according as is one's humour. You are wrong to blame us; we have done all we could, short of the threat of an armed intervention, and this we have always declared we would *not* do. We have been consistent from the very beginning, and now, when everything was on the point of being settled, why could not Leopold have been forced to give way? This was your opinion, at least, some weeks back, and it is the view M. de Talleyrand still holds, and openly proclaims. He says that Leopold should be ordered to give in his agreement, not merely parleyed-with and advised about the matter; and that since England and France have given him a crown, they may well look for a certain amount of docility from him as a return. M. de Talleyrand is no Russian, and therefore his opinion need not be regarded with suspicion. As to his movements, by the way, he only leaves Paris in time to be here about September 20. It is a nuisance having to be bored with M. de Mareuil till that date.

For the last few days I have had no news from

* Otho of Bavaria was named King of Greece by a Convention signed May 7, 1832; he only assumed the Government on June 1, 1835.

Windsor; but they say the Duchess of Gloucester is getting worse.

Adieu, my dear lord; do not forget me now that you are back among your sheep. The month of September will appear very long to me.

Yours ever,

Howick,
Sept. 2nd, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have to thank you for two letters which I have received from you since I last wrote.

I answered immediately that which I received from the Prince enclosing Count Nesselrode's despatch. I was much gratified by the proof it afforded of the favourable impression which Lord Durham had made, and I think it will be well that he should have some communications with the Court of Berlin on his way home, and also, if his time and the advanced state of the season will permit, with that of Vienna. But *you* will not recommend it to us to place too much confidence in any utterances we may receive from the latter. Nor is it exactly for the reasons urged by Count Nesselrode that I think these communications will be useful. It is possible that persons, though not in office for fifty years, may know something of the different Courts, and the persons of the greatest influence and power in them; perhaps as much as if they had been engaged in daily negotiations with them. But I should be glad to have the opinion of a person of great observation and judgment, as to the actual state of things there; that above all he should have an opportunity of convincing them that this Whig Administration is no

friend of agitators and revolutionists; that it is as desirous as any of you to counteract their designs, and that if it thinks it necessary to represent the danger of such a policy as that which appears to have dictated the resolutions of the Diet,* it is from the most friendly motives, and from a sincere belief that it is calculated to produce, or at least to accelerate, the evil which it is intended to avert.

As to Belgium, the matter never will be settled till a firm tone is taken towards both parties. I think, and must think, that the difficulties which we now suffer arise in a great degree from the course taken by your Court and the other two Powers after the signature of the Treaty of November.† Even now you are ready enough to dictate to one side and not to the other, showing favour to that which has the least title to it. I certainly thought the last proposition of the Dutch likely to lead to a satisfactory conclusion; but I thought so under the belief that in that proposition the free navigation of the Scheldt, subject to a moderate duty, and exempt from means of vexation and delay, was included. This does not appear to be the case. On this Leopold has a right to insist, and to call upon us to assist him. Let the Dutch fairly and unequivocally state their readiness to concede this point, for the sake of a final arrangement, and we then shall have a right to say to Leopold he ought to be, and must be, content with the acquisition of all the substantial advantages which he has a right to expect. I do not understand how the opinions which you state Talleyrand to have given, and which appear to me, in

* See p. 368.

† November 15, 1831, confirming the Twenty-four Articles. (See p. 291.)

themselves, very improbable, are to be reconciled with the part which Mareuil, who is believed to be entirely of his school, and who certainly was placed here by him, is taking.

I hear nothing but complaints of your Admiral Ricord, which has more particularly occasioned the greatest dissatisfaction amongst our naval officers.

There is another report, which I do not believe, though it has been sent to us from very authentic sources, that you have proposed a marriage between Prince Otho and one of your Princesses.

We have at last had two fine days; but for the greater part of the week the weather was what you describe it to have been at Panshanger, which has been a sad interruption to our harvest.

I have at last heard something of Lord Howe, but nothing satisfactory. I cannot give you the details, and as nothing is likely to come of it, it is more than ever necessary that you should not appear to have heard of it from me.

God bless you, and believe me ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Sept. 6th, 1832.

I received last night, my dear lord, your letter of the 2nd. I find in it many effects of the bad weather, for you were not in good humour when you wrote it, and I have a great mind to give you a flat contradiction for every line of it.

In the first place, why is it the Whigs alone who are to have innate intelligence? and since contact with men and affairs adds to the experience and knowledge of all other mortals, why show disdain for opportunities of learning, and for the advantages to be derived therefrom? I do not share your opinion that personal acquaintance with a Minister is of no great use; and I instance to you Lord Durham as a case in point. Before seeing him in Russia, they had conceived the strongest prejudice against him; he was judged on his reputation. They have seen him, they have had discussion with him, and the Emperor and his Ministers have not only lost their prejudice against him, but have found this converted into sentiments of friendship and confidence. On the other hand, again, I am convinced that Lord Durham will come back with very different ideas from those with which he was animated when he set out to pay us this visit. It is probable that a like result, on either side, would accrue were he to visit Berlin and Vienna. Further, my dear lord, as you have put me on the subject of Germany, allow me to repeat to you my conviction, which is that the German Courts must know more about the affairs that concern them than can a foreigner; just as you yourselves probably know how it best suits you to pacify and govern Ireland.

As to Belgium, and this interminable business which you had imagined was concluded, but which Leopold wishes to keep, and will keep, dragging on, because at the present day his new father-in-law backs him up in all his pretensions,—I am certain it is not *we* who have spoilt matters by showing any partiality for Holland. It is rather the disfavour shown by England (who was

the ancient protector and ally of Holland) to that unhappy country, whose antecedents and present conduct might well have commanded her respect. Surely, just as greater regard is everywhere paid to ancient honours, so is greater respect and consideration due to the older States. On this principle, which I deem to be most just, I do not agree with you in holding that we are showing favour 'to that side which has the least title to it.' I think that Holland has every title to respect, and from all of us.

I am, in truth, entirely ignorant in the matter of Admiral Ricord's conduct; and likewise it is from you that I first learn of the intention to marry one of our Grand-Duchesses to Prince Otho. I am, however, sure that the Emperor will marry his daughters as he sees fit, and will do his best to settle them suitably. On the other hand, there can be no hurry about the matter, since the eldest of the Grand-Duchesses is only twelve. As you will perceive, the leisure of country life gives me a taste for answering you back. It does one so much good, and I should like you so much less if we happened to be always of the same mind.

I am indignant to think that your well-meant and loyal attempt to set matters straight with Lord Howe has not met with a proper reception. It is showing a bad spirit, and great wrong-headedness; and these things disgust me. You may count upon the strictest discretion on my part, for I have not whispered a word of it to any living soul. What I told you as being M. de Talleyrand's opinions on the affairs of Belgium, was what he said to our Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, who mentioned it in a despatch he wrote to my husband.

If your accounts differ from ours—well, it would not be the first occasion that M. de Talleyrand has proclaimed two contradictory opinions at one and the same time. But whatever may be (or may not be) his character in the matter of strictest veracity, I am delighted he is coming back to us; first, because he amuses me; secondly, because M. de Mareuil bores me; and lastly, because I am convinced that it is he alone who can bring the Belgians to terms.

I stay on here till Tuesday, and then go to Richmond, for this eternal Belgian business obliges my husband to keep in the neighbourhood of London. It is extremely dull here, and there is only Lord Melbourne, who snores all the evening.

Wessenberg* is at Deal, at the feet of Lady Stanhope. As you may have probably heard, the Duke of Hamilton's daughter is going to marry the Duke of Newcastle's eldest son.

Adieu, my dear lord; I congratulate you on getting to the end of my gossip. On the other hand, being extremely fond of your letters, I entreat you to write to me often and at length. Nesselrode is, as ever, very well satisfied at the terms on which he meets Lord Durham. He repeats this again and again, both in his letters to my husband and to myself.

Yours ever, with a thousand regards,

Howick,
Sept. 10*th*, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

If you found traces of the bad weather in my letter, I must say that your Highness in return does

* Austrian Secretary of Embassy.

not appear to have written in a good humour. I have too often occasion to reply in the House of Lords, to find pleasure in the same sort of controversy during my holidays. I will only say, therefore, that if personal communication with the Ministers of Foreign Powers is necessary, it is seldom that the Ministers here can have that advantage. They must trust to their observation of what passes, and to the information sent to them by their accredited agents at the different Courts; and all these sources of knowledge, from the nature of our Government, are open to persons engaged in public affairs, though not in the Administration. Besides, you will pardon me if I doubt the infallibility of the knowledge acquired by personal communication. I have known a person of the greatest acuteness of intellect, and with the best opportunities of intimate observation, impressed for twenty years with the most perfect belief in the sincerity and truth of a great Minister who at the end of that time was discovered to be *le plus grand fourbe qui ait jamais existé!**

I am aristocratic both by position and by nature, and have with you a predilection for old institutions. I have always had, also, a great desire, in the new arrangement, to do as much for the interest of Holland as was compatible with justice to others, and with the peace of Europe. But when the conduct of that Government has been marked throughout, and never more than in the last instance, by chicanery and bad faith (words which I have heard from every member of the Conference, and which the Emperor himself used to Lambton), I must say that if favour is to be shown

* Referring, probably, to Lord Aberdeen.

to either party, it is not to that which has so conducted itself.

However, the matter is now placed on a right ground, and there is no further need of discussion. Our last word is spoken. If it is not agreed to, we must act; and it will be for the other Powers of the Conference to determine what course they will pursue. Ours is determined. There are some other points in your letter on which I should have something to say, but here is enough of controversy for one day.

When I wrote I thought the 'affaire Howe' completely at an end. It is on again, but not in a way that is completely satisfactory to me. I cannot explain the particulars by letter.

I hear that Talleyrand is not well. He is gone, as of course you will have heard, to Madame de Dino's country house. I shall be very sorry if he does not return, thinking, as you do, both of him and of Mareuil. He will be a great loss to society, and Madame de Dino equally so. By the way, where do you learn that Louis Philippe supports Leopold in unreasonable resistance? This does not tally with my information.

Our weather is beautiful, but I do not recover my strength or spirits. I am afraid I can no longer hope for any chance of your coming here.

Ever dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Saturday, Sept. 15th [1832].

How much better it would be, my dear lord, if you were the Grand Turk! No more contradiction then. I should be afraid of the bowstring, and I should always agree with you. Admit that you are rather dogmatic in your opinions, and that the Whigs in general, with all their apparent Liberalism, have a great predisposition for turning autocrats.

This is all the reply I make to your last letter; let us now pass to other matters. What is most recent in my mind is an interview that I have had with the Dauphine.* I had always felt great respect for her, and had decided—even in spite of my husband's opposition—to go and see her. I went without sending word before. 'Je vous attendais, madame, car vous vous êtes toujours souvenue de moi quand j'étais dans le malheur.' These were the words with which she received me on entering. I was deeply touched. Further, what I have done has not the merit of being extraordinary, for your Queen also has been to pay her a visit. This act on her Majesty's part is in excellent taste, as the Dauphine recognises, and she is very grateful. The Ministers have not been as polite as the Queen. Palmerston would not go to see her. I think she has felt this, as also the necessity under which she was placed of crossing in an ordinary steam-packet,

* Better known as the Duchesse d'Angoulême, who was then on her way through London. Charles X. had quitted Edinburgh, it was said, fearing lest the Government, under pressure from France, should take the initiative in urging his departure from this country. He retired to the Austrian dominions, and died at Goritz in 1837.

the Government having been too late in providing one for her.*

She spoke to me at length of the past and of the future. Of the past, deploring certain mistakes, and laying the blame on the evil spirit of the times and the wrong-headedness of certain individuals; of the future, with great hope, and showing almost a certitude that sooner or later France will recall the Bourbons. She blames greatly the imprudent zeal of the Duchesse de Berri,† which, according to her, is retarding the success of the cause. She speaks of Louis Philippe's chances with contempt. Of the Queen she talked with great esteem and friendship. Such was, more or less, the text of our interview. All the Corps Diplomatique went to pay her their respects. I imagine that she has left to-day.

I am rather sad at finding myself back again at Richmond. I adore Panshanger; everything there is gaiety and gladness to me. Lady Cowper hopes you and Lady Grey will stop there on your way up from Howick. If you could manage it, I would try and be there too, in order to meet you.

The Emperor has offered Lord Durham the imperial steam-yacht to take him to Stettin; no one, not of the Imperial Family, has ever as yet been permitted to use her. Count Nesselrode is loud in praise of the manner in which all the official business he has had to transact with your son-in-law has been carried through. He has certainly had complete success with us in Russia,

* The Dauphine went in a common passenger-boat to Rotterdam; Charles X. crossed in a trader to Hamburg. (See 'Wellington Despatches,' New Series, viii. 415.)

† The Duchess de Berri had placed herself at the head of the insurrection in La Vendée.

and I shall be impatient to talk it all over with him as soon as he comes back.

I went yesterday to see the Cumberlands, and found the whole family plunged in the deepest despair. Their little son George* has suddenly lost all power of sight. He sees absolutely nothing; they turn his face towards the sun, and he cannot perceive the light. Imagine what a grief and a calamity this is to his parents. The doctors have not given up all hope, or, at any rate, they do not say they have; but as one of the eyes has already been stone blind for a year past, it seems to me there can be but little chance now of saving the other; and this is already the fourth day of total loss of sight.

What a dull time we have been having for the last three weeks—not a word of news, not a single event, and none of the business already begun brought to a close! So, by the way, you want to have war. Well, then, declare war—see how accommodating I am! The secret of it all, however, is that I am boring myself, and would fain have something to stir up Europe a little. Do tell me what are your 'spirits' that you cannot 'recover.' You were in 'good spirits' enough at East Sheen, and in excellent health, too. Come back here quickly; it will do you good. We will try and amuse each other, and laugh. It is part of one's business in this world, and laughing makes one keep one's health, too.

Adieu, my dear lord. My Highness salutes your lordship, but in all happiness, and, above all, in true and warmest friendship.

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* Afterwards the blind King of Hanover. The eye had received a blow.

Howick,
Sept. 20th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have received your letter of the 15th. One must feel for any person suffering under misfortune, like the Dauphine; but I cannot say that I can take any other interest in her situation except that which arises from this general feeling of compassion, and from the wish that she may remain quiet and unmolested in whatever retreat she may choose. She has been in a great degree the cause of the misfortunes of her family; and though she may be sincere in her feelings, this does not prevent her having been, like other bigots, the cause of great mischief. As to the restoration to which she looks, I do not believe, and should be sorry to believe, it probable. There never was a truer word spoken than that by Fox—that 'the worst of all revolutions is a restoration.' History gives few examples, if any, of two in one family; and I believe certainly none of a third. And if the throne of Louis Philippe should be overturned, I do not believe it will be to place a Bourbon upon it.

If you look to war as a means of dissipating ennui and affording a new interest and amusement, I am afraid you will soon have enough of it to make you very soon wish for a return to a state of tranquillity and repose.

I really was very sorry to hear of the dreadful calamity that has fallen on Prince George of Cumberland, and all the reasons which I have to complain of them cannot prevent my feeling for the distress which it must bring upon the Duke and Duchess. From your account of the case, I should not think there is much chance of a recovery.

I seek in vain for anything that can interest you; the only thing that occurs, and that, perhaps, is a subject of indifference to you, is that I shall set out on my return to London on the 4th, and be there on the 8th or 10th at latest.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours entirely,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Sept. 24*th* [1832].

So at last, my dear lord, you have remembered me! I received on Saturday your letter of the 20th. I was beginning to be anxious, and thought you were ill, or angry with me. My thanks for having saved me from these dragons. Thanks also for telling me that in a fortnight I shall see you again. It gives me the greatest possible happiness, as I beg you to understand. Why should you make believe to have doubts thereon?

Well, here we are in a nice confusion at the Conference. Your going away has not brought luck to the Belgian business, for each day things have been getting worse. We must wait and see what the sequel is to be; and though it would be perfectly possible at any moment for England to go and annihilate Holland, yet, as you well know, I have always held this to be so unnatural, politically speaking, that it never had entered my head you could do it; neither, for that matter, can I conceive of you doing it now.

The death of the King of Spain, if the news be true,* will bring about strange complications in the

* A false report. Ferdinand VII. died a year after this.

affairs of the Peninsula; and I cannot help thinking that any difficulties which crop up in Spain will be likely to act favourably, at the present juncture, for Don Pedro's cause. But in looking ahead, all likelihood of confusion in that country must give rise to the most serious apprehension. I myself indeed believe that there will be great confusion everywhere before the year is out, and that I shall no longer have to complain of ennui.

At the present time I have the great pleasure of complaining of the heat. It is perfectly lovely here. I set off in a few hours for Stoke, to stay there either one or two days, according to the weather and the company. My husband is tied down by the Conferences, and cannot accompany me. Why are you not at Stoke? I should stay on there in that case. What amuses me, my dear lord, is that during fine weather I seem to love my friends doubly well, and to-day I love you most dearly. In which state of feeling I close my letter.

Howick,
Sept. 27th, 1832.

MY DEAREST PRINCESS,

I cannot delay thanking you for your very kind letter; but it is not in my power to express the real pleasure it gave me. . . .

The Chancellor* and Althorp have been here the last two days. We have agreed to be at our posts on the 10th. We set out, as I before told you, on the 4th.

I have often told you that I was sincerely disposed to an arrangement favourable to the real interests of

* Lord Brougham.

Holland. This, I think, we have proved by what we have done. But there is a limit to forbearance, and the time is at last come when that Government must become reasonable, either willingly, or by compulsion. There can be no longer subterfuge or delay. The question is now placed on clear and just ground. The King and the Ministers, and, I will now confidently add, the people, will be united in enforcing the proposition we have made, and the consequences do not rest with us.

The last accounts seem more favourable to Don Pedro, and I agree with you in your view of the probable effect of the death of the King of Spain on that cause. The last naval accounts left Sartorius in a situation in which, if ever, he may have an opportunity of striking a decisive blow. I have not mentioned Lord Howe lately, but that matter is now settled. He has not acted as, I think, he ought to have done; but I am very glad to have had it in my power to remove his cause of dissatisfaction,* and it rests with him to prevent its recurrence.

Everything is going on well—the Revenue flourishing beyond our most sanguine expectation, the internal condition of the country improving in every respect, even Ireland getting into a satisfactory state; everything, in short, except this affair of Belgium, going on as we could wish; judge, therefore, whether it must not be both my interest and my desire to bring this matter to a speedy and, if possible, to a pacific adjustment.

* The offer made to Lord Howe was that he should resume his office of Chamberlain to the Queen on the understanding that, though not required to support the Government, he should not vote against them, but be neutral. Lord Howe ultimately declined these terms.

How I wish I could have met you at Stoke! Perhaps I may still have that happiness after my return. We have had accounts of Lord Durham's arrival at Stettin. He was to have been at Berlin on the 19th, and will be now, or very soon, on his way home through Brussels.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever yours,

G.

P.S.—Direct to me till Tuesday inclusive here.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Oct. 1st, 1832.

How much I thank you, my dear lord, for your good and kind letter of the 27th! I am quite delighted to be writing to you for the last time, and to be able to think that before very long we shall be able to answer one another by word of mouth. I trust it is at East Sheen that you intend staying. We have had anxious times since I last wrote to you—Lord Palmerston became so bellicose. How often have I regretted your absence! for I hold you have far too much sagacity ever to allow a hasty judgment to get the better of your understanding, and we have had, alas! instances of this temper, here, more often than was either fitting or necessary.

Things have become more pacific during the last few days. What, however, may be the conclusion of to-day's Conference, it is impossible to say, and it may have very important results. I would quote with pleasure a saying of Lord Holland's, who, referring to

the various bad jokes that have been made about the Conference, and of the ridicule which has been heaped on it, said: 'I had rather, however, have a hundred protocols than a single bulletin.' This is well said.

Now, according to my view, it would have been so much better and more suitable to have paused and awaited the arrival of Lord Durham. From all sides I hear how extraordinarily suspicious Lord Palmerston is of Russia, attributing to us all the blame for the resistance Holland is now making. Lord Durham knows the Emperor's views, and has listened to his last utterances on this subject. Why do they not wait and hear him, and learn from him what are his impressions on Russian politics? When a Cabinet Minister has passed some months at one of the great Courts, one may well suppose him to have gained some profit by his sojourn there, and from the results of the negotiations confided to him. It seems to me that it would only be what is due both to the individual and the office he holds, to listen to what he may have to say, before passing judgment in so grave a matter. Unless I am very much mistaken, Lord Durham returns with a full conviction of the perfect good faith and loyalty evinced by our Cabinet. The reputation he has left behind him in Petersburg is of the best. Everybody writes to me in his praise. I send you, from among others, a letter of Orloff's that you will read with pleasure.

I sincerely hope Lord Durham will have arrived by the time you yourself get up to town. I had promised to go to Panshanger on the 8th, but since that is the date on which you expect to be arriving, I will

put off my visit in order to see you quietly for a few days.

So the King of Spain is only dead in the *Moniteur*. This is rather hare-brained information to be Government news, and the telegraphs will lose all their authority. Just fancy, they say that there have been sixty cases of bankruptcy in Paris, as a consequence of speculations entered into on the faith of the *Moniteur's* information. George of Cumberland is getting on better. I told his father and mother how you had sympathized in their distress, and they were much touched thereby. What do you say of this stupid affair of the Demoiselles Perfect?

Adieu, my dear lord. My scrawl will be proof to you that I write in great haste, but never imagine that anything prevents my thinking of you with regard and friendship.

Howick,
Oct. 3rd, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I return Count Orloff's letter immediately, lest I should afterwards forget it. It is very gratifying as to the testimony it bears to the manner in which Lord Durham has conducted himself.

But forgive me if I say that the late proceedings of your Court with respect to the Belgian Question, and more particularly the last proposition made to the Conference by Prince Lieven, do not appear to me to be in accordance with the friendly sentiments which we had a right to expect from you. You certainly will not find me at all more disposed than Palmerston to relax as to the measures which we think necessary.

I was very glad to hear that Prince George was so much better. As to the *Perfect* affair, I can only say that I regret it. I am in all the turmoil of preparations to set out to-morrow. We expect to arrive at Sheen on Monday.

Yours most entirely,

G.

[With a view to an amicable adjustment of the Belgian Question. Lord Palmerston, during the month of September, had consulted the representatives of both Holland and Belgium as to the concessions which each country would respectively make. Their substance was embodied in a document proposing certain alterations in the Treaty of November 15, 1831; this was laid before the Conference on September 30. The Belgians were not unwilling to accept these alterations. The Dutch, however, declared that they were not even authorized to discuss them. On the following day the French Plenipotentiaries, having lost all patience at the bad faith of the Dutch, formally suggested the employment of force, and the English Plenipotentiary supported the suggestion. The Plenipotentiaries of the Northern Courts urged further delay; the representatives of England and France responded that too much delay had already been allowed, and the Conference, thus divided in opinion, separated.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Oct. 10*th* [1832].

If it be all the same to you, my dear lord, would you dine here Monday instead of Saturday? Should this, however, put you out, pray let us keep to the Saturday. I hear the King has a Council on Friday; so there will be no hope of seeing you that day—when shall it be, then?

I met Bülow at dinner yesterday at the Errols'; he, too, thought you warlike and over-excited. But he still counts on you as much as I do, and feels sure

that just as a great deal of harm happened during your absence, so a great deal of good will result from your return. What news is there of Lord Durham?

Adieu, my dear lord; it is sad being so near, and yet having so little hope of meeting.

Yours ever,

D. L.

East Sheen,
Oct. 10*th*, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

It will give you pleasure to hear that Lord Durham was to be at Calais last night, and will be here in time for the Cabinet to-morrow; but to prevent disappointment, let me forewarn you that he will come with no disposition to object to the decisive measures which can now be avoided only by the acquiescence of the King of Holland, and that without further delay, in the just and reasonable terms which have been proposed to him.

I am obliged to be in town both to-day and to-morrow and Friday, and shall go each day about twelve. God bless you.

Yours very faithfully,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday, 10*th* [*Oct.*, 1832].

Very certainly, my dear lord, you have afforded me great pleasure in telling me of Lord Durham's expected arrival, and I thank you much for your kind thought. As you will have seen, my note, which crossed yours, was to ask you for news of him. You

know I am by nature somewhat obstinate, and I still persist in thinking that you will not do anything but what is prudent, cautious, and far-seeing. In this Belgian matter you will do nothing precipitately, for, however bad may be this delaying, it is always preferable to war. And, after all, you must feel that we entirely share your opinion as to the bad faith of the King of the Netherlands, and that we shall say out what we think. As to the possible ridicule which this delay may entail, I ask: How can the Great Powers ever be injured by ridicule?

My husband is very desirous of the honour of seeing you. He will call at East Sheen to-morrow, and take his chance of your receiving him before your hour of setting out for town.

Adieu, and a thousand friendly regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, 6 *o'clock* [*Oct.* 19*th*, 1832].

As you did not come and call, my dear lord, I wished to have gone to see you, but my time has been taken up by various people, and were I to call now, I should fear to be ushered in among your Ministers. I send you, therefore, a line to say good-bye, for it will be ten days at least before I see you again. Pray write to me during this time.

And now tell me something. My husband has just been summoned to the Conference to hear a communication from Zuylen.* What is it about? Does his King give way? I am extremely curious to know,

* Dutch Plenipotentiary.

and if you do not tell me, I shall not hear it till to-morrow, for my husband stays in town.

Good-night, my dear lord, and adieu. I had Lord Durham with me for a long time this morning, and each time I see him I like him the more.

Oct. 19th [1832].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

The bad day and business together prevented my going to you this morning; and I was in hopes that I might have been able to see you to-morrow, as I knew there was to be a Conference, and thought you might wait for the Prince.

I don't know what Zuylen has sent; but I expect nothing good. We have had a despatch from the Hague, written after *your new proposition* was presented. What it was I know not; but if it was such as the Dutchman will agree to, it probably will not suit us. All I know of Zuylen's packet is that it is, like himself, very bulky; but Palmerston keeps it for the Conference.

You have timed your visit [to Panshanger] just when I might have had some chance of seeing you here; but there is no chance of my being able to leave town for the next ten days. My 'Ministers' are collecting, and I have only time to add, God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

East Sheen,
Oct. 26th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

You ordered me to write, and I have too great interest in keeping myself alive in your recollec-

tion to disobey so gratifying a command. If I have appeared to you rather dilatory in obeying it, it has been owing to my having nothing to say on those subjects which alone are interesting to you, on which it could be pleasant, at this moment, to write.

Indeed, I have had little to tell you that you would not have found in the newspapers, and you are too well informed of my feelings and opinions with respect to the present crisis in the affairs of Belgium to make it necessary for me to repeat them. I can only offer up my prayers that the measures in which we are now engaged, and with respect to which the only reproach to which I feel that I may be justly exposed is that they have been too long delayed, may speedily end in such a manner as to prevent the danger of any interruption of the good understanding which it has always been my wish to cultivate between your Government and mine.

When do you return from Panshanger? I suppose just at the time when I shall be going somewhere else, as I am thinking of going about the middle of next week to Lord Dacre's, and on Saturday, the 3rd, to Lord Sefton's, to meet Talleyrand and Madame de Dino, the latter of whom I have not yet seen. I must be in town again on the 5th or 6th for a Council on one of those days, and after that I meditate no further visits.

I conclude despatches have arrived during the night from Portugal; but they have not yet been sent to me, and I know nothing but what you will see in the papers. I thought Sartorius had given checkmate to Don Miguel's fleet in Vigo, and I don't understand how they got away from him. But they appear to have returned to the Tagus in a crippled condition, which,

considering the great superiority of their forces, is not discreditable to Sartorius. These Portuguese fight much better on both sides than I had expected.

Zea* has an expedient for settling it all by a '*sort*' for Donna Maria. How do you think? By marrying her to Prince Otho. He came to me the other day just as I was going to the King, in his usual state of distress and tribulation. He said he had just been to Palmerston for some consolation, 'mais qu'il en revenait la mort dans le cœur.' I had neither time nor power to give him any comfort.

Believe me, ever dearest Princess,

Yours most entirely,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Sunday, Oct. 28th [1832].

I was unable to answer your letter yesterday, my dear lord, because, in the country, no post went out that day, and hence it is only to-day that I can thank you for having at last recalled me to mind. You are quite right to refer me for news—and even for secrets of State—to the newspapers; for at the present day it is to them that everything secret is first confided. Thank heaven, however, they have not yet invaded the domain of personal friendship, and proofs of yours for me I shall always look forward to finding in your letters.

I probably stay on here till Tuesday, and Wednesday would be my utmost tether, unless, perchance, you thought of passing this place, and staying here a clear

* Spanish Ambassador in London.

day on your way to Lord Dacre's. Should you have any intention of doing this, pray make haste and let me have a line by to-morrow's post, so that I may stay on and see you. Lord Sefton had made me promise to come to Stoke when you were to go there. But I have heard nothing from him, and the *Times* announcing your new Treaty with France has, I fear, made him regard it as more fitting that you should meet France than Russia at Stoke, for Russia to-day is a very black sheep. This would vex me more than your Treaty, for I was looking forward with such pleasure to passing a couple of days with you quietly and pleasantly in the country.

I am very, very anxious about the next news from Oporto. Don Miguel's going there, and planning an attack to take place on the anniversary of his birthday, proves that he evidently wishes to bring on the decisive crisis. Politically, my interest is given to both equally; but my personal feelings are all with poor Palmella. Zea and his despair reminds one of the despair of Orestes ever imagining he is pursued by the Furies, or of the dolt Jocrisse in the French play. A Minister, too, who takes to crying is but a poor specimen of the profession.

I expected my husband yesterday. It must have been the fog that prevented his coming. *Brouillards, brouillons, brouillés!* We are suffering from them all now. M. de Talleyrand and Madame de Dino are expected to come and dine here to-day, with Palmerston, Motteux, and my husband to meet them. We have had Lord Auckland and Miss Eden—no one else. Lady Stanhope comes to-morrow. Now, do, pray, come Tuesday; it would be so pleasant.

Adieu, my dear lord. However badly politics may turn out, my friendship for you will not follow suit, and you will ever find me faithful and constant in my affections.

[The Treaty with France referred to in the above letter was signed October 22, 1832. It was stipulated that if Holland did not withdraw its troops from Belgian territory before November 12, France and England would place an embargo on all Dutch shipping in their respective ports, would blockade the Dutch coast with a combined squadron, and that the French should march an army into Belgium and drive the Dutch garrison from the citadel of Antwerp, which the King of Holland still held in defiance of the decree of the Conference and the Treaty of November 15, 1831.]

East Sheen,
Oct. 29th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand thanks for the letter which I received from you this morning. Its kindness really touched me, and you cannot doubt how sincerely I concur in the hope that nothing will ever occur to interrupt this feeling on either side. I have done all I could to avoid what has now happened, and it will still be my endeavour to prevent things becoming worse; but the prospect is not encouraging, and though I was prepared to expect your Note, it might, I think, have been expressed in more friendly terms.

I am very sorry it will not be in my power to go to Panshanger to-morrow. I have an engagement, and, besides, am obliged to be in town to see the King on Wednesday. I am not limited to one visit to Stoke, and I still hope for the pleasure of passing there two or three comfortable days with you.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY.

[The following letter from Princess Lieven is docketed by Lord Grey '6th November, 1832,' which day, however, was not a 'Saturday,' the day on which the letter was written, but a Tuesday (in the following year, 1833, the day fell on a Wednesday). Princess Lieven's note is important, as it confirms the account given in the Greville Memoirs of the cause which led to Prince Lieven's recall in 1834. (See chapter ix.) Lord Heytesbury never returned to Petersburg. After Lord Durham's special mission had come to an end, the Hon. J. D. Bligh was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary *ad interim*.]

To Earl Grey.

Saturday, 6 o'clock [*Nov. 6th*, 1832 (?)].

I dine at Sir Robert Peel's this evening, my dear lord, and sleep in town to-night, where I shall remain the whole of to-morrow, so fix your own hour for calling; but have the kindness to let me know when to expect you, in order that I may not be kept a prisoner all day.

I congratulate you on having so quickly carried through your difficult task.

By the way, do you remember, my dear lord, a request I made you some days back, in the matter of Lord Heytesbury? Permit my stating it to you once again. The Emperor would be really grateful to you were you able to send Lord Heytesbury back as Ambassador. If it be possible, pray grant me this as a favour.

Good-night, my dear lord, I should very much have liked to have had a talk with you to-day, but I want to do so even more to-morrow, so I beg you to give me a few moments. I am to meet all the late Ministry at dinner this evening.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BELGIAN QUESTION.

The Siege of Antwerp Citadel—General Chassé—M. Bjoernstjerna—The State of the Belgian Army—Admiral Sartorius and the Portuguese Fleet—The Queen and Lord Howe—The Effect of the Blockade of the Dutch Coast—The New French Ministry; Marshal Soult—M. Zea and Don Miguel—Russia and Portugal—The Court at Brighton—Delay in beginning the Siege of the Antwerp Citadel—Princess Lieven's Accident—The Duchess of Gloucester—The Elections for the First Reformed Parliament—News from Antwerp; further Delays—The Citadel finally taken; the French Troops retire from Belgium—Arrival of Count Pozzo di Borgo in London—The Emperor of Russia refuses to receive Sir S. Canning as Ambassador—The King of Holland and the Forts on the Scheldt—The Elections—Lord Denbigh appointed Chamberlain to the Queen—The Article in the *Standard*—Sir R. Peel's Opinion on the Union with Ireland and Irish Church Reform—The Meeting of the First Reformed Parliament—The King's Speech and the Address—Lord Palmerston and Sir S. Canning's Nomination to Petersburg—The Division on the Irish Coercion Bill—The Queen's Remarks thereon—The Duke of Wellington and the Address of the House of Lords to the King—Failure of the Tory Tactics—Princess Lieven's Journey to Russia—Position of the Duke of Wellington—The Duchess of Kent and the Salutes at Cowes—The Russian Court at Peterhof—The Illumination on the Empress's Birthday—Mehemet Ali—The Porte and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi—Lord Ponsonby—Fetes at Peterhof; the Review—Return of Princess Lieven to London.

[The King of Holland showing no signs of compliance with the demands of France and England, on November 6 an embargo was laid on all vessels bearing the Dutch flag in British ports, a fleet was sent to the Downs to blockade the coast, and nine days later a French army of fifty thousand men, under Marshal Gérard, crossed the Belgian frontier and marched upon Antwerp, where General Chassé, with a garrison of four thousand men, held the citadel in the name of the Dutch King.]

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Tuesday, Nov. 20th [1832].

I arrived Sunday, my dear lord, and am established here for so long as it remains fine weather, and the *douches* continue to do me good; which may be for about a week. One must be very incurious to be leaving London at a time like this, and but that I counted on two good friends—of whom you are one, and Bülow the other—I should not have ventured on such an exile. Write to me, I entreat of you; send me some news, and not the news of the newspapers, but what you think about it all. You will be doing me an extremely great service, for without your charitable aid I shall be a century, at least, behind the time, judging by the rate at which events progress in these days. What do you know about Antwerp? Will the King make up his mind to defend the citadel, or will he surrender it? This seems the chief question. And since such grave consequences depend on it, with all my curiosity for definite news, I would rather see this momentous crisis delayed than hurried on. I saw Fagel * before I left London, and he was of opinion that Chassé had had orders to defend the place, and feared for the consequences.

Lady Howe has sprained her ankle, and is obliged to keep to her bed: this is the only piece of news I have heard here. The Cowpers arrive the day after to-morrow. Do you still remain at Sheen? and if so, for how long?

* Probably Baron Henri de Fagel (who died in 1834). He had been Dutch Minister in London from 1814 to 1824, and was then recalled and named Secretary of State in Holland. His brother Robert was Dutch Minister in Paris from 1814 to 1854.

Adieu, my dear lord; I count on your letters and your friendship. My address is the Albion Hotel.

A thousand kindest regards.

Downing Street,
Nov. 22nd, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter yesterday, but had nothing to tell you; having waited till the last moment, I may still say the same thing. There are letters both from the Hague, Antwerp, and Brussels of the 20th, but adding nothing to the lights we had before. It appears, I think, pretty certain that the citadel will be defended, and those by whom this madness has been encouraged have much to answer for.

I am only come to town for a few hours to attend a Cabinet and a Cabinet dinner, but return to Sheen to-night. I shall remain there as long as I can, but shall probably be obliged to remove my headquarters here about the end of next week. From the list of visitors I see in the papers, I should not think the parties at the Pavilion very gay. The King, I hear, is in excellent health, and the Queen also; but I am afraid my sins are not yet forgiven. Your friend Bjoernstjerna,* whose return, I am sure, must have delighted you, gives a much better account than I had expected to hear of the Belgian army. He says the cavalry and the artillery in particular are very good and that he thinks them quite equal to cope with the Dutch single-handed.

I will write again the moment I hear anything that might interest you; in the meantime, Brighton is

* Swedish Minister in London.

more likely to furnish materials for a letter, and I shall expect accounts of all you are doing.

God bless you, dearest Princess, and believe me

Ever yours most faithfully,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Friday, Nov. 23rd [1832].

Although your letter of yesterday, my dear lord, gave me no news, it afforded me great pleasure, which must prove to you that I prefer being remembered by you even to getting news. This morning's papers unfortunately confirm the news of the King of Holland's intention to defend the Antwerp citadel. Alas! what will come of all this? In so far as I am in a position to judge, public opinion is not in favour of this war, and it is a sad necessity indeed that has forced you to undertake it. No one would be more happy than I to see it promptly concluded.

Brighton is charming, and distracts my mind entirely from Belgium. There are a great many people to see, and a small number of intimate friends, whose presence affords me agreeable society. Among them I count the Chesterfields, the De Ros's, and Alvanley. To-day we shall be reinforced by the Cowpers. Imagine my horror at meeting the Bjoernstjernas to-day on the Parade! They will ruin Brighton for me. I have as yet seen nothing of the Court, and so can tell you nothing about those highest circles. As soon as I have been initiated, I will transmit to you the result of my observations.

What is Portugal doing? Is it true that the

English officers have left Don Pedro's service,* and if so, why? What curious things do happen in this world! Heaven knows what catastrophes there may be awaiting us before long!

Yesterday was the second anniversary of the date of your taking office, and though so many things have happened since that time, to me the two years seem to have passed very quickly. Do you not think so, too?

Adieu, my dear lord. You see I have really nothing to say to you that is worth the taking up of your time. I shall hasten, therefore, to assure you of my warmest regards, for the assurance of this, at least, I know to be always welcome. On this one matter, at any rate, I am convinced we think alike; and, assuredly, it is a great piece of good fortune in this world to be able to count on a true heart. I implore you to fulfil your good intentions, and send me some news. Adieu once more, and a thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Sunday, Nov. 26th† [1832].

I dined the day before yesterday at the Pavilion, my dear lord—I dine there again to-day; and yesterday I went to see the Queen, to present Princess Galitzin to her. As a consequence of all this going to Court I must send you a letter, although

* Alluding to the report that Admiral Sartorius had gone off with Don Pedro's fleet. The sailors had mutinied for their arrears of pay, and Admiral Sartorius had threatened to confiscate the fleet unless their demands were satisfied. Fortunately, Don Pedro was able to collect money enough to do this. The command of the fleet was afterwards given to Captain Charles Napier, R.N.

† It should be the 25th.

in point of fact my budget of news is extremely limited. The health of the royal personages is excellent, as also their spirits. The gathering at the Pavilion was wholly Tory. The Peels and the Dawsons as many as could be; the Chesterfields, and the De Ros's, the Brownlows, and Lord Howe.* Such were the notables. After dinner the King talked to Lord Howe alone, who appears to me to enjoy his Majesty's favour in the highest possible degree. The King and Queen, Princess Augusta, Madame Bjoernstjerna, Lord Howe, and myself, made up the party, who sat together in the round drawing-room. The Queen talked to me; the King, as I have just told you, to Lord Howe, and to him alone.

The Queen did not go beyond trivial matters, and I heard no word of politics, except when she referred to the letters which the Princess, her sister,† writes to her. She naturally pities her much, for her position at the present moment is not agreeable. The Prince of Orange sent his portrait the other day to the King and Queen, not considering that he is at war with *them*. My visit yesterday was nothing but an official presentation. The Cowpers have arrived, and they also dine at the Pavilion to-night. So here we have some Whigs. George Anson, too, has been invited.

Observe what careful bulletins I send you; pray pay me back in kind, but of a different sort. Tell me what is happening in that unhappy Antwerp; and tell me how and when the dead-lock will come to an end. It is all but impossible to think of anything

* Although no longer her Chamberlain, Lord Howe still continued his attendance on the Queen.

† Ida, wife of Grand-Duke Charles of Saxe-Weimar, and daughter of Duke George of Saxe-Meiningen.

else. I have paid the Duchess of Gloucester a visit;* she is greatly altered, and is very unwell. I need not tell you that she is extremely indignant at the war against Holland. We have to-day a *froid de loup* here at Brighton, but the sun shines brilliantly, and the promenaders are numerous.

Adieu, my dear lord; pray write to me; it is not I who now fail in the matter of letter-writing. I think I shall stay out the week here.

A thousand warmest regards.

East Sheen,
Nov. 27th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I went to town yesterday intending to answer your letters from thence, that I might be able to send you the latest intelligence. . . . The delay is extraordinary, though we knew that the commencement of the operations against the citadel of Antwerp had been retarded, not by the foolish dispute with the Government of Belgium, but by the French not having got up their heavy artillery. In the meantime I hear that the merchants of Rotterdam and of Amsterdam are beginning to feel that the blockade is no joke. They had forgotten that we were well practised in this during the last war, and thought that at this season of the year we could do little. They now find that hardly a Dutch ship has got in, and that there is now in English ports, sent in by the British cruisers alone, exclusive of what has been detained by the French, property to the amount of more than half a million of

* Princess Mary, the King's sister. She married her cousin William, second Duke of Gloucester, grandson of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

our money. This will form a good deposit for the indemnity which their conduct may make it necessary to demand of them. They should recollect, too, that they have colonies; and the King would do well to bethink himself in time of the ruin he may bring on himself and his family, when all his false pretences are exposed, and a reaction takes place in public opinion.

I hear the best accounts of the prospects of the Government in France, the stability of which is an object of European interest.* But I hear also that Pozzo, to say nothing of his language about Belgium, etc., has been doing all he can to instigate Zea,† during his stay in Paris, to take up the cause of Don Miguel. You must have an extreme desire to thwart the policy of England everywhere, to seek for an opportunity of doing so in Portugal.

This is the first bad day we have had since you left Richmond, and I was surprised to hear you speak of a *froid de loup* at Brighton. Our elections‡ are going on admirably, and you will have seen that the attempt at addresses for the Dutch war, as they are pleased to call it, has signally failed. Even the meeting in the City is regarded as a failure by all the reasonable and respectable merchants.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most affectionately yours,

GREY.

* M. Casimir Périer's death in May had been succeeded by some months of interregnum, during which no Ministry was formed. In October, finally, Marshal Soult was promoted from the Ministry of War to the Presidency of the Council, and France was again under the control of a firm Government.

† Zea Bermudez was, during these last days of King Ferdinand and at the commencement of Queen Christina's regency, Spanish Prime Minister.

‡ For the first Reformed Parliament.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Wednesday, Nov. 28th [1832].

Many thanks, my dear lord, for your letter of yesterday. I am extremely curious and impatient for news; it seems impossible that the siege should not have already begun, and then the end cannot be far off. This would certainly be a great event; and an excellent affair, too, if it only brought the Belgian Question to a solution. What you tell me of Pozzo has diverted me much, because assuredly you cannot be ignorant that Zea requires no urging in the cause of Don Miguel. The poor man was already so ardent on the matter that it was tragic to behold him; and I am sure there was no need to inflame him the more.

Why do you imagine that Russia wants to thwart the policy of England? In the first place, your policy in this affair has never been clearly stated; you have never said you wished to turn out Don Miguel. In the second place, Russia has never meddled in Portuguese matters. We live much too far off for it to concern us in any way, and what Pozzo thinks of the business is of no moment whatever. Pray do not give in so easily to these false notions, with which others wish to inspire you against us. It may all be in the interest of your new ally,* but surely you are far too clear-sighted and just, not to consult your own judgment rather than theirs in this matter. My dear lord, your highest quality in my eyes has always been that you have the clearest, the most honest and the most open mind of any statesman I know, and at the same time the keenest foresight. Your greatest defect is

* France.

that you do not allow yourself to be sufficiently guided by your own incontestable superiority of judgment.

The King and Queen are both extremely gracious to me, and no one could have more obliging attentions paid them than those of which I am the recipient. I always find the King calm and good-humoured, and in such good health as is a pleasure to see. The Queen also appears to me to be now in excellent spirits. When the occasion serves, she of course throws out a few words that show her great dislike of this war against the Dutch; but as a rule she says little about it, and tries to occupy her thoughts with other matters.

Alexander Baring* dined the other evening at the Pavilion, which astonished me. The last two occasions on which I dined there, Lord Howe was not present. The Cowpers are always invited the same day that we are. To-day the Duke of Gloucester is invited—what a pleasure! I intend staying here for yet another week; I am amusing myself, and one must admit that Richmond is no longer very agreeable, especially now you are going away from East Sheen.

Thursday, 29th.—My letter remains unsent, for I had no time to finish it yesterday. I have just heard that Palmella has arrived in London. What has he come for? and how are his master's affairs progressing? Nothing as yet from Antwerp; how things do drag on!

Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me, I beseech of you; you cannot conceive how ignorant I am, and how full of curiosity. On this last head my husband has taken to an independent course of action that suits

* Afterwards Lord Ashburton.

me ill. Brighton amuses him, and he takes walks. This is not the best of means for getting me news. Bülow remembers me but rarely, and so I rely on you more than ever.

A thousand warmest regards.

East Sheen,
Dec. 4th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have been so harassed for some time that it has been impossible for me to write, but I have had nothing to tell you that you would not have heard from other quarters.

Your defence of Pozzo is most logical. We profess not to interfere in Portugal, therefore his instigating Zea to espouse the cause of Don Miguel cannot thwart us, though it has been our object to keep Spain quiet, for which purpose we made our neutrality dependent on hers. Again, Zea was already on fire, therefore an addition of fuel could do no harm. It, at least, showed a desire to increase the flame, and at all events not to let it subside. But it is not in this case alone that his enmity to this Government has been displayed; nor is it from the French I have my information. There is not a Court in Germany through which he has passed, from which we have not had accounts of his holding the most hostile language, and describing this Administration as Jacobinical, and so reprobated by the most powerful classes in the country that it could not stand. Of the state of public feeling here with respect to us you may judge from the effect of the measure to obtain addresses. Wherever a fair appeal has been made to

it, the result has been decisively in favour of the Government.

I have not yet fixed a time for going to town, and shall put it off as long as I can. I am nearly knocked up, and here, at least, am safe from people coming to me late in the evening.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Dec. 5th, 1832.

Really, my dear lord, you only write to me now to pick quarrels with me, and at that price I would rather not have your letters. If the four pages about Pozzo had been used to prove your friendship for me, and to give me a little news, both my heart and my curiosity would have been better satisfied. But I will not imitate you, and for the future even will have no opinions, since I see that unless mine agree with yours, you get angry. It is always so with politics; but as I have none, I do not get angry, and I now resume my peaceful routine of news-writer.

The Cowpers have come back from Petworth, happily so for me, for I was beginning to bore myself without them; so much so, even, as to have made me want to go back to London, whither my husband has returned for a few days.

I received yesterday a letter from the Prince of Orange, the first I have had from him during the last ten months. He is naturally very much excited, but seems firmly resolved on the course to pursue—to

act on the defensive—which appears to me to be his country's best policy. Further, he thinks that the French will be in Belgium for the whole of this winter. That remains to be seen. It seems to me that the French Government is gaining strength. But when is Gérard going to push on the siege? Certainly the calculation as to time has been far from exact, for here we are already at the date at which the whole affair was to have been concluded, and the French back home again.

You must have found the King in the best of health the other day, and one must admit that he makes journeys like a young man. He only got back here at two in the morning. The Queen just escaped having a bad fall from her horse the day before yesterday. The fact is, though she looks so well on horseback, she is by no means a good horsewoman. Lady Jersey threatens to come to Brighton, but I hope to be gone before she arrives; just imagine what a kill-joy she will be!

Good-bye, my dear lord. How is Lord Durham's little girl? The papers said she was worse, but I hope this is not true.

A thousand kindest regards.

East Sheen,
Dec. 8th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have been intending to write to you for the last three days, but have been always prevented, and now I have only a few minutes.

The latest accounts from Antwerp seem to offer a reasonable expectation that the citadel will surrender

very soon, unless old Chassé has some scheme to play off which is past my powers of divining. The whole history of these proceedings is most unaccountable. First, the delay of the French in beginning, and the inadequacy of their preparation. Next, the very little resistance which has been made by Chassé, whose defence has hitherto been so miserable as to induce one almost to believe the report of his death. He may, as I have observed, have some resource which is not apparent to us; but it seems impossible that he can have any that could be equivalent to the advantages which he has allowed the French to obtain. They have, in fact, established their two first parallels, without any material loss, within the distance which there generally is between the third and the place. They have made up, therefore, by their subsequent activity for the first delay. I have no other news, and all this you will have seen in the papers.

I confess I have felt sore at the language held by Pozzo, so inconsistent with that which was held to Lord Durham, but which it is hardly possible to suppose he would have held, coming immediately from St. Petersburg, if he had thought it would not be approved of. I have other grievances, but let them rest for the moment.

This is a very shabby letter, but I have not another minute. Lord Durham's daughter is as ill as possible, and entirely, I fear, without hope.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Tuesday, Dec. 11th, 1832.

I was unable, my dear lord, to thank you for your last letter before now, for I have been suffering so much from a fall I had Friday last, that it was impossible for me to take pen in hand. I slipped and fell, getting out of bed, against a piece of furniture, and I thought I must have broken some of my ribs. I am still in great pain to-day, but I wish all the same to send you a few lines.

Matters at Antwerp are dilatory, and, in fact, things there go much as everything else has been going for some time past—no despatch of business, everything dragging on, and all calculations as to time completely at fault. Chassé is defending himself well.

I see by the papers that Stratford Canning is going to Spain. If his mission be to urge Spain in bringing to a close this struggle which is going on in Portugal, it would be an excellent matter, although it is difficult to conceive how a satisfactory solution can result from the present state of affairs.

In spite of my half-broken ribs, I am going to the Pavilion. The Duke of Sussex is the only new guest, for they never have anyone except the Royal Family and the Household, although Brighton is full of people. It is a long time since I last met Lord Howe, but he is still here. I hope to return to London on Saturday, if my ribs will allow me to do so. Will you be back in town by that time? I am truly grieved to hear of the hopeless condition in which Lord Durham's daughter is lying. Brighton is in all

the turmoil of the elections. It seems probable that it is the Radicals who will carry the day. It is incredible how hostile the people of Brighton are to the Court; and it is a great piece of ingratitude on their part, for assuredly it is to the presence of the Royal Family that Brighton owes its prosperity. Within the palace everything goes on in perfect peace and tranquillity; domestic harmony, as I am told; and the King, as ever, in excellent health.

Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me once more, I beg of you. Letters are the more welcome when one is ill. The Duchess of Gloucester is no better, and I hear from Hastings that poor Prince George is worse again. I fear his sight is lost entirely.

A thousand regards.

East Sheen,
Dec. 12th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I write to thank you for your letter of the 11th, which I have just received, and to condole with you on the injury which you have received from your strange accident. What pranks were you playing? I trust, however, you have not suffered severely, as you were going to dine at the Pavilion.

Never was there anything so completely successful as the London elections. Not one Radical returned, not one *soi-disant* Conservative;* not a symptom of violence or tumult. Nobody who passed through London would have known that an election was going on: when we were told that the elections were to be

* A new word in those days. It is said to have come into use in 1831, through an article in the *Quarterly Review*, written by J. W. Croker.

thrown into the hands of a fierce democracy, and nothing but Radicals to be returned, under the effect of intimidation and outrage. I really believe that there has not been a disturbance anywhere, except where it was provoked by the Tories, whom God seems to have blinded for their destruction.

I have not heard whether any further accounts have been received this morning from Antwerp. Old Chassé seems to have shown more vigour since I last wrote; but it is only a question of days, more or less, unless the Prince of Orange should advance to his relief. To this he may be pushed by the state of public opinion, but if he fails (and how can he be expected to succeed?), I will not answer for the consequences to the Dutch King and his dynasty. You might have saved them, but you preferred a course to which I shall always ascribe all these dangers and difficulties.

I think with horror of fixing my residence in town, and shall remain here till the beginning of next month. I was sorry to hear of the Duchess of Gloucester's distressing state; she is one of my bitterest enemies, but I cannot help liking her. For poor Prince George and his wretched parents I feel more than I can express, though they are to be placed in the same category (but in a much higher degree) as the Duchess of Gloucester. Zea arrived at Madrid October 27.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

G.

Downing Street,
Dec. 24th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I do assure you my regret at not being able to call on you to-day was very great and very sincere. It is increased by the news you send me of your intending to leave town on Wednesday, as I cannot come to town to-morrow. Why did you give up your house at Richmond? I might have had the pleasure of seeing you frequently there.

I propose going to Goodwood on the 1st, and am invited to Brighton on the 3rd; after that I shall fix myself here, but without any hope of one minute's leisure or comfort.

It grieves me to hear that you still suffer so much.

God bless you.

Yours,

G.

[On December 23 the citadel of Antwerp capitulated. After this decisive success, which gave Belgium the free navigation of the Scheldt, the King of Holland withdrew his troops, and the French army immediately afterwards quitted the country.]

To Earl Grey.

London,
Tuesday, Dec. 25th, 1832.

I congratulate you, my dear lord, on the surrender of the citadel of Antwerp, and I congratulate myself, too. Anything that tends to smooth away political difficulties is a good thing for all parties, and I trust matters may now be arranged so as to avoid thorny situations of all sorts and kinds.

Your note of last night announces such a long

period of separation between us, that I cannot make up my mind to start for Panshanger without having seen you once again. This is what I propose, therefore: If you come in to town to-morrow, come and see me on your way in. If it is still early enough after your visit to allow of my reaching Panshanger, I shall go to-morrow; if, however, you can only visit me late in the day, I shall put off my departure till Thursday. All this *pour vos beaux yeux!* I trust you are duly grateful; but be you so or not, let me have a line in answer to this, in order that I may arrange my plans.

Pozzo arrives here next week to pay my husband a visit. Without going bail for anybody, I certainly think he cannot be as full of evil dispositions against England as you would have it, since he thus puts himself at our mercy. As a rule, when people are really so very inimical, they prefer remaining at a distance.

Adieu, my dear lord; I await your reply, and meanwhile prospectively rejoice, perhaps in vain, at the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow. Pray arrange things so that I may not be rejoicing vainly.

A thousand kindest regards.

P.S.—I am sending a man to bring back your answer.

East Sheen,
Dec. 25th, 1832.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I accept your congratulations on the surrender of the citadel, though there are those connected with your Embassy to whom this account will be by no means agreeable, any more than it will be to Pozzo.

What is he coming here for? Do not imagine I can believe it to be merely a journey of pleasure.

I have only a moment to say that I shall go to town to-morrow, and will call on you between twelve and one; but my visit must, I fear, be very short.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Monday, Dec. 31st, 1832.

As we cannot meet, my dear lord, I must, at any rate, send you by letter my good wishes for the year that is about to begin. All manner of success has been yours during the year that is drawing to its close, and from the bottom of my heart do I wish you the like for that which is now commencing. For myself, I hope that I may pass the year with you in England. The matter lies in your hands, and it seems to me that your friendship assures me that it will turn out in accordance with my desires.

We expect Pozzo on Wednesday, and since you will be out of town at that time, I shall get him to come down to me here, and then we will come up to London together as soon as Ministers are back again. I assure you I count greatly on his presence to counteract all the prejudice that exists in England to our disfavour. We, at least, have every wish to dissipate this prejudice, and if but a moiety of the like desire should show itself on your side, I see no reason why the coming year may not open under auspices of goodwill to all men—and this, to me, at least, would seem in the interest of Europe in general.

France, withdrawing her troops as she does, is acting in a way that is worthy of great praise, and fully justifies the confidence you placed in her word. This is an excellent guarantee that peace will be maintained, and I consider, in fact, that it is better assured now than it has been at any time since you came into office. Whether the King of Holland remains obstinate or not matters nothing at all. Further, it would appear likely that the Dutch of themselves will now refuse to maintain a resistance which has no object, and is without hope of success.

I am still suffering a good deal, but, at any rate, I sleep well at Panshanger, which I did not do in London. There are staying here only Lady Tankerville and the Duke of Argyle; and we have snow to-day, which I detest. You can have no conception how I hate the winter-time. Have you any good news from Lambton Castle? and how is Lady Grey? How is poor Lord Durham's daughter getting on?

Tell me, my dear lord, if you can come and dine with us Monday next, the 7th, at Ashburnham House. It would give me such pleasure if you can manage it. I shall count also on Lady Georgiana.

Adieu; a thousand good wishes and assurances of my true and faithful friendship.

East Sheen,
Jan. 1st, 1833.*

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I cannot sufficiently thank you for your very kind note, which I received late yesterday evening. In the first place let me return your good wishes for

* Dated by mistake 1832.

the New Year, and more especially that part of them which relates to your continuance here. Be assured that this wish is sincere, and from my heart. There is nothing that I would not do, that honour and duty would allow me to do, to contribute to its fulfilment. But really we are placed in a situation, with respect to the demand of your Court, from which it does not depend upon us to extricate ourselves.* Let me hope, therefore, that a pretension will not be insisted on, which is founded on no valid reason, and to which we cannot yield. A similar demand has more than once been resisted, and by Canning, in a tone which we certainly shall not adopt.

The King of Holland seems determined to persist to the last as he began. Was there ever such a piece of gratuitous obstinacy as the refusal of Lillo and Liefkenshoek ?† They are of no earthly use to him, except to provoke and irritate. He commands the Scheldt without them ; and his keeping them gives the Belgians a right to retain Venloo, etc. I cannot help feeling that allowing the garrison, whose bravery he so much vaunts, to be sent prisoners into France on this ground, will have some effect on public opinion in Holland. But let him take care that the reaction, when it comes, as come it will, does not assume a strength which may push matters too far. We have sent him a proposal for an immediate Convention, previous to a definitive Treaty ; but I suppose we may expect a refusal as a matter of course.

I do not go to establish myself in London till

* The Emperor of Russia had refused to receive Sir Stratford Canning as Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

† The two forts commanding the lower reaches of the Scheldt.

Monday next, and wish you could put off your dinner till some day later in the week.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Yours most affectionately,
GREY.

P.S.—Poor Lambton's daughter is as ill as it is possible to be. Our accounts of Lady Grey are better.

To Earl Grey.

Ashburnham House,
Friday, Jan. 4th [1833].

I could not write to thank you yesterday, my dear lord, for your kind letter of the other day, for I had to go from Panshanger up to London, which was a matter of great fatigue to me in the suffering condition in which I still find myself. When I got up here, it was found needful to arrange a consultation with Brodie and Halford, and in this my day was wasted.

Since Monday will not suit you, will you come and dine with us Tuesday? If I hear nothing from you to the contrary, I shall know that we may look forward to the pleasure of seeing you.

Pozzo amuses me greatly, and I think you will like him; he is full of wit and gaiety, and his political ideas are of the most pacific and conciliatory order. He is very well content with the present state of France. Matters there have all turned out in favour of order and moderation. He is extremely pleased (just as I am) that the recent elections here in England have added so much to the strength of the Administration; for, that the Government should be strong at

home is what is most to be desired for every country. It is only weakness that can compromise the peace of Europe. As for you, my dear lord, you are on Fortune's highroad; she seconds you, and does so rightly, for you will use her gifts to good purpose. I am very curious to know what your judgment will be on Pozzo; and he, too, is extremely impatient to make your acquaintance.

I wish I could inspire the King of Holland with a little common-sense, and I agree with you in thinking that for lack thereof on this occasion things in Holland may go very ill with him. I cannot, however, prevent myself looking on all this as secondary. The essential point is—peace; which seems to me well secured at the present day, unless it be put in jeopardy by Stratford Canning, and this would be too ridiculous. I rejoice in the idea of seeing you once more, and hope you will have been pleased with your visit to Brighton. Although I have seen no Tories, I hear on all sides of the state of despondency they are in; but I should add that, except in a very few cases, a general desire seems to prevail that the Government should be supported.

Adieu, my dear lord, and till Tuesday only, I hope.

A thousand kind regards.

East Sheen,
Jan. 5th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your very kind letter this morning before I left Brighton. I hate great dinners, and they are not suited to the present state of my health; but I find I must submit to several, and therefore I will not

refuse yours on Tuesday. I hope to meet you also at Palmerston's on Monday.

Everything passed to my complete satisfaction at Brighton, and I was much gratified by the Queen's graciousness to me. You will have heard of the appointment of Lord Denbigh to be her Chamberlain.* This was done before I arrived. There could not have been a better solution. The other promotion you will also have heard, and I am sure will rejoice at —Lord Stafford's Dukedom.†

I was sorry not to be able to receive the Prince and Pozzo to-morrow, but I am sure the validity of my excuse will be admitted.

Ever dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY.

Wednesday night [*Jan. 9th*, 1833].

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am so much edified by the enclosed article, which I have just read in the *Standard*,‡ that I cannot help sending it to you. You see you have excellent friends in the Tories.

Ever yours,
G.

To Earl Grey.

Thursday, Jan. 10th [1833].

You cannot laugh more than I do, my dear lord, at the extreme popularity enjoyed by Russia in

* *Vice* Lord Howe. † Duke of Sutherland.

‡ In a leading article of the *Standard* of January 9, 1833, these words occur: 'The truth is that the favourite policy, during at least six years, of Russia is to cheat and embroil the fools in the West of Europe, while she plays her own game in the East, etc.'

England. A fortnight ago, also, the *Standard* had an article in a like obliging tone, and I was the first to divert myself therewith one day at breakfast at Panshanger. But, my dear lord, pray note a difference. I laugh at the Tory newspapers as I laugh at those of the Radical press, for they matter to me not a straw; but I do *not* laugh at what the Ministerial journals publish. However, let us laugh over it all together to-night at M. de Talleyrand's, where I shall be so happy at meeting you again. I trust there is now no question of your cold.

Pray tell William that he would see my boys at Covent Garden in the Queen's box. He will only have to mention my name. They could afterwards bring him back to Downing Street, if that suited.

A thousand regards.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Friday, Jan. 25th, 1833.

This silence is too much, my dear lord, and I do not feel at my ease when I am so long without hearing from you. I have taken to the good (or is it bad?) habit of occupying myself greatly about you, and I have the pretension of imagining that you think of me, too, a little.

I have, however, no news to give you, unless it be to assure you that what I hear on every side from the Tories confirms all that I have been telling you for some time past; namely, that they will be moderate in their views, and be disposed to give a frank support to the Government in all that relates to guarding

against and repressing Radicalism, which is the only foe much to be feared. Peel thinks there will be 120 Jacobins in the House ever ready to harass both the Ministers and the Tories; and that they will impede business to a considerable extent, even though it be merely by their eternal chattering.

In Peel's opinion Government ought to make every haste to carry a motion declaring that the Union between Ireland and England must be maintained, at any cost and peril. He thinks that at the present moment the Government would be able to carry this by a majority of ten to one. Later on the majority would decrease; O'Connell having acted on their minds, there would be hesitations, and the House would no longer give the same unqualified support to the measure. The measure once passed, he holds that martial law ought immediately to be proclaimed in Ireland. My informant further told me he thought if the [Irish] Church Reform were very moderate, Peel would not oppose it. He displays in his usual language no sort of bitterness against the Government. I have no exact knowledge of what he may think about foreign affairs, but in general terms he is greatly in favour of all that can tend to the maintenance of peace.

All this, my dear lord, is a short summary of opinions which I think it well to forward to you, and I have them from an extremely reliable source. The Duke of Wellington, according to what I also hear, holds language of much the same tenor; but I shall know more on this matter in a few days' time.

I come up to town Sunday, to dine at Lord John Russell's. Shall you be there? It would be such a

pleasure to meet you. A letter from you posted to-morrow would still find me here Sunday morning.

Adieu, my dear lord, and a thousand kindest regards.

[The first Reformed Parliament was formally opened on January 29, and the Speaker (Mr. Manners Sutton) elected. The Speech from the Throne was delivered on February 5 by the King in person.]

To Earl Grey.

London,
Wednesday, Feb. 6th [1833].

The Speech from the Throne, and what you said in the House of Lords, was all that we could wish for, my dear lord; and, according to my old habit, I am writing to tell you what I think of it all. It would have been impossible to speak with greater propriety and delicacy on matters of foreign policy than you have done. Pozzo came back enchanted with your speech, and loud in praise of its eloquence. It was such a pleasure to me to hear him speak so of you. Praise of you always makes my heart warm.

I thank you, too, for your last note.* The expression of your friendship for me is the chief matter in it, and this, in fact, is the only thing to which I attach much importance. I already begin to look forward to the visit you promise me towards the end of the week. Let me, however, know the hour beforehand; for now that I am getting the better of my cold, I begin to go out a little, and I would fain not risk the vexation of missing you. I hardly dare

* Of February 3, Downing Street.

hope to see you to-night, but only after midnight shall I give up all hope; for I have the greatest longing to talk to you, and three weeks have passed since we last saw each other.

Adieu. A thousand most friendly and most faithful regards.

Feb. 6th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I promised myself a kind note from you this morning, and I have not been disappointed. Accept my best thanks, then, for that which I have received. It did my heart good, and is the best compensation I could have; but, still, a very inadequate one for my not having the pleasure of seeing you. I am glad that anybody else was pleased with my speech, for I was not so myself. I had been so unwell after the King's Speech in the House of Lords that I had been on the point of sending to desire that they would go on without me. The truth is, I was quite overcome by hard work and want of sleep, and had not had five minutes to think of what I had to say, before the House met. However, if it satisfied others, as I am assured it did, all is well; but I wish Pozzo had had a better specimen of me.

The Tories did exactly as I had expected—that is, all the mischief they could, and in the most factious spirit. There was nothing omitted by Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington to encourage the King of Holland to resist, and to excite alarm as to our intentions about the Church. On the strong declaration of our intention to suppress the violence which prevails in Ireland, and to support the Union, they said

little or nothing, and gave a cold, hesitating, and reluctant promise of support, *if* our measures should be such as they approved. I see their game as clearly as if I had been present at their consultations, and I promise you it shall not succeed. I am so knocked up that I must stay at home and go to bed early. Besides, there is no comfort in seeing you at an assembly.

God bless you, dearest Princess.

And believe me, ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Friday, 6 *o'clock* [*February 8th*, 1833].*

As I count on giving you pleasure in so doing, I hasten, my dear lord, to acquaint you with the impression left on my mind by my interview with the Queen, from which I am just come—namely, that it seems to me her Majesty is extremely well disposed towards you.

The Queen spoke with evident satisfaction of the debates last night in both Houses, saying that if Peel's speech gave satisfaction to the Government, that of Lord Grey, on the other side, must have greatly pleased the Tories. Thus by a lucky chance, at the same moment and from opposite quarters, each party had made an advance to their rivals, which action would not fail to have a tendency to bring about a tacit union between those in either camp who were moderate and reasonable in their views. Such a *rapprochement*, the Queen continued, was a matter of the utmost import-

* Docketed in error 'March 29th.' It evidently precedes the letter of February 9th.

ance, and was in every way desirable, for therein lay the greater safety of the State; and, her Majesty added, through this it might be hoped that influence would be brought to bear on certain matters of foreign policy. From this *rapprochement* all manner of good, and nothing but good, would result; and what the Queen most hoped was that so auspicious a beginning might not fail in the sequel. Her Majesty praised your two speeches to me in the strongest terms, adding that, since her knowledge of them came through a Tory channel, her approval was not open to the suspicion of undue partiality. The Queen, in fact, appeared to me to be most decidedly impressed in your favour. I beg of you now, my dear lord, to throw this letter of mine into the fire, for it is in no way according to rule thus to repeat the sayings of royalty; but to you, and above all when they contain matter that may be agreeable to you, I am always ready to make an exception. On Sunday I will tell you some more.

Meanwhile, good-night, and a thousand kindest regards.

P.S.—The Queen much disapproved of the speeches of both Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington.

Downing Street,
Feb. 9th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I had hoped to have been able to thank you for your note of yesterday in person, but have been prevented, and to-morrow, as I feared, there is to be a Cabinet. I bear this very ill, for your kindness to me yesterday makes me more than ever impatient to

see you. It gave me great pleasure to hear that so favourable an impression had been made on the Queen by the first debates. The result of the division* last night was even better than I had expected. Such a majority in a Reformed House of Commons affords undeniable proof that the spirit of Radicalism is not very formidable in the country. Latterly, the feeling of the House of Commons became very strong against these violent people,† and I hear from all quarters that they have excited nothing but disgust in the public.

Has Bülow told you what the King said to him yesterday? It was entirely of his own motion, for he had mentioned his intention neither to Palmerston nor me. God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Tuesday, Feb. 19th [1833].

Pozzo leaves on March 3 for Paris. Would you give us the pleasure, my dear lord, of once more coming to dine with us to meet him? and would you be free on Friday, March 1? I hope much it may be so.

I am very well pleased with last night's debate in the Upper House; and from what you said in reply to the Duke of Wellington, I gather you are satisfied also with the course he has promised to follow. I saw Lord Aberdeen yesterday, who appeared to me to be taking a more just view of affairs; and I know that

* On the Address, carried by a majority in the Commons of more than six to one.

† The Irish members under Mr. O'Connell's leadership.

the language he held to Zuylen was anything but encouraging to the Dutch.

Adieu. On Sunday we meet for certain, and possibly before then.

A thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Sunday morning, March 10th [1833].

MY DEAR LORD,

Pray send me some news of your poor little grandchild.* I trust things go better to-day.

That I might see whether it were possible for me to release you from your promise, I got my husband once more to talk to me about the declaration which Lord Palmerston made to him,† and I inquired why, after all, he had not gone and spoken of the matter to you? He answered my query by laying it down as an acknowledged fact that a declaration made officially by one member of the Government must of necessity be regarded as emanating from the Cabinet in general —that, as a consequence, any appeal against the same was entirely superfluous; on the other hand, my husband said that if this declaration were to be regarded as embodying the opinion of Lord Palmerston alone, any recourse to you would be of the nature of a complaint, and such a proceeding, without in any way changing the core of the matter, would entail con-

* George, son of Lady Caroline Barrington. The child died March 16.

† Lord Palmerston had declined to cancel the nomination of Sir Stratford Canning as Ambassador to Petersburg. Lord Grey supported Lord Palmerston's decision, which Lord Durham vehemently opposed. Lord Durham shortly after this resigned the Privy Seal, on the plea of ill-health. The Emperor of Russia still persisting in his objections, an understanding was arrived at that Sir S. Canning should not proceed to his Embassy, which remained vacant till 1835.

sequences that would not fail personally to be disagreeable to him. His answering me thus robbed me of all desire to acquaint him with the conversation I had had with you. So, therefore, more than ever do I conjure you to remember your promise, and I rely on your breathing no syllable about it to anyone. I thought myself clever at diplomacy, but I never am so with you, for I cannot get rid of my old habit of telling you all that is on my mind. I ought to have broken myself of this two years and a half ago.

Yours ever, with a thousand kindest good wishes,

Downing Street,
March 10*th*, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

The poor little boy continues much in the same state—*i.e.*, as bad as possible.

You may be assured I never will repeat without your permission anything that you say to me in confidence; and in the present case it is, on all accounts, better to let the matter rest as it is, though I am certain there must have been some misunderstanding.

I am always too happy when I receive any mark of your kindness, and I should be still more so if you could justly accuse yourself of being off your guard in any of your communications with me. Even if you were more imprudent, you would have nothing to fear with respect to any confidence that is confided to me. But it has more than once occurred to me to hear things repeated from others which you had told me under the strictest injunction of secrecy, and for these I cannot answer.

You complain of Palmerston; but you ought not to be surprised if the violent, and, as I believe, most unjust, things that are said against him, when repeated, should produce some impression. The other night Lady Holland repeated to Lady Cowper all that had been said of him by Pozzo to her, which was of such a nature as not to be forgiven.

Ever yours,

G.

Downing Street,
March 20th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

If there is no House of Lords, I shall be very happy to dine with you on Monday; but Lady Grey is at present quite unequal to such an exertion. The most satisfactory division we have yet had was that of last night,* as all the Tories, with the exception of three or four, voted against us. Some of our friends also voted in the same way, so that there could not be a stronger proof of the strength on which we can rely, in spite of all accidents.

The Duke of Cumberland will, I hope, no longer boast that we depend upon their assistance. He declared last night that he would vote against the Bill when it comes back to the House of Lords. I hope he will keep his word. God bless you.

Ever yours affectionately,

GREY.

[On April 26 the Government sustained a defeat in the House of Commons, when Sir W. Ingilby carried his proposition for a reduction of the Malt Tax by a majority of ten.

On June 1 the Duke of Wellington moved an Address to the

* In the Court-martial Clause of the Irish Coercion Bill, carried by a majority of 140.

Throne, pledging the House to a policy of neutrality as regarded Portugal and the rival claims of Don Pedro and Don Miguel. The motion was carried by ten votes.

Princess Lieven was to leave England in the middle of June on a visit of some weeks to the Court of the Emperor Nicholas.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
June 5th, 1833.

You made it a matter of reproach with me, my dear lord, a few weeks back, that during the period when a crisis was imminent I failed to turn to you for news. Although in my opinion the vote of Monday in the House of Lords need not be regarded as of anything like the importance of the motion on the Malt Tax, and I therefore foresee no peril to your Administration, yet since the newspapers, which are my only sources of information, insist that this will bring about a crisis, I write to inquire what I am to think about it all. Is there anything in it? or is it all nothing? My idea is 'nothing,' but then I may be mistaken. In any case, I consider the bringing forward of the motion to have been very ill-advised.

I must see you again before I leave. Can you call on me in town on Tuesday next?—I shall not be there before that date. Also pray fix your hour, for I shall be very busy, and every moment occupied.

Adieu, and a thousand kindest regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Downing Street,
June 6th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

It was a real pleasure to me to see your handwriting once more on my return from the Cabinet

dinner last night. I had begun to fear that I was entirely forgotten. You know I cannot always command my time, but I will, if possible, call on you about three on Tuesday. Do you dine at Sion [House] on Monday?

The vote of the House of Lords on Monday night would require more than is possible in a letter. A decided declaration of that branch of the Legislature against the Administration would, in ordinary cases, make a change necessary. If such a change does not now take place, it is owing to circumstances of the greatest moment to the character and authority of the House of Lords. These ought to have been well considered by the leaders of the Opposition before they committed the House by a measure of which they do not seem to have foreseen the consequences. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the interview which the Chancellor and I had yesterday with the King. The answer to the Address will be delivered to the House of Lords to-day. I hate the thoughts of your going to Russia. In the present state of the world God knows what may happen before you come back.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, June 7th [1833].

After having written to you the day before yesterday, my dear lord, I went to dine at Kew, where I met all the high Tories. Their faces and their talk gave me the answer to my question before I had received your letter in reply. I very soon understood

that they had done a foolish piece of business, and that they themselves knew it; and although the Duke of Wellington put a better face on it than any of the others, it needed no pains to perceive that he was not triumphant. What happened yesterday has thrown a fresh light on their position; every attempt that fails is a piece of stupidity. The King's reply to the Address appears to me extremely moderate in tone, and very much to the purpose, also not a little biting, if one may say so.

To-morrow I go down to Windsor, and come back Monday. I dine that evening at Sion House. Your question on that point makes me hope you are to be there too.

The thoughts of my voyage oppress me dreadfully. It is such a fatigue, and I shall have worry enough to kill me. But the Emperor wishes to see me, and I tell myself that I must not disappoint him. If I am still alive I shall be back by August 15. Why should you imagine that any catastrophe will occur between this and then? I, on the contrary, think that everything looks pacific, but your prognostications frighten me.

Adieu, my dear lord; many thanks for your letter, and a thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Hamburg,
June 22nd, 1833.

It is impossible for me, my dear lord, to let slip any opportunity of sending a letter to London without writing to you; and the *Comet* is just starting on her return journey. The *Comet* is an admirable

vessel, and I take leave of her with the feelings that one has in saying 'Good-bye' to an agreeable acquaintance. Comparisons are not in favour of the vessel I find here to replace her, for just imagine, I am about to embark aboard a packet-boat whose sister ship was wrecked a week ago! How much this inspires one with confidence!

I have borne the sea well enough up to now; I remain here to rest over to-morrow, and then I set off for the Baltic.

How far away England and all its politics seem to me now! The more, however, I think over things, the less do I think it possible that anything grave will happen. I feel sure everything will pass off well, if you show a conciliatory spirit. I think so, in the first place, on account of your words, which were in every way moderate; and I believe it, in the second place, on account of what the Duke of Wellington said, whom I saw on the eve of leaving London, and who appeared to me to have no other ambition than to effect a reconciliation between extreme opinions; and he certainly had no idea of overturning the Government. If he fibbed to me, I shall be very sorry for it; but up to the present moment I shall have been completely his dupe. However matters turn out, I feel sure, one way or another, the present crisis will be got over without much difficulty, and perhaps it is all arranged as I hope at the present moment of my writing to you.

Adieu, my dear lord; think of me sometimes, and let me know too that you do so. I need both your friendship and the being reminded of it.

Believe ever in my most affectionate regard.

Downing Street,
June 26th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I was in hopes of hearing before this of your safe arrival at Hamburg. I cannot, however, feel any doubt of it, and I know you are now at or near Petersburg, or at any rate that you will be there long before you can receive this letter. I write in obedience to your orders, and to satisfy my own desire to recall myself to your memory; to say how much I regret your absence, and how anxiously I look to the time fixed for your return.

I have nothing new or interesting to tell you with respect either to our foreign or domestic affairs. The most interesting point with respect to the former will be the Belgian Question, till it is settled by a definitive treaty; and I sincerely hope your Plenipotentiaries will have instructions to press that matter to a conclusion by resisting the attempts, which we may still expect from the Dutch Government, to raise difficulties and to create delay.

The state of parties here continues much as when you left us, and I am quite prepared for any efforts our opponents may make on the Irish Church Reform. They have not lately acted with more prudence or skill than previously to your departure; and as long as your friend the whiskered Duke,* and persons of his disposition, have any influence amongst them, they cannot be expected to do so. But in truth, as to feelings of personal resentment and hatred of the Government there is not much difference; and the Duke of Wellington never loses an opportunity of giving vent to them

* The Duke of Cumberland.

He puts himself forward on every occasion to criticise and censure the measures of the Government, without pushing the questions, on which these attacks are made, to a division; and it must be confessed that, with a strange conceit to appear to understand every question better than all the world besides, he often makes a sorry figure.

Not having enough to do with more serious matters, I have at this moment on my hands a foolish quarrel between the Courts of Kensington and St. James's. The immediate cause is a question about salutes from the ships of war and forts when the Duchess of Kent is passing in her excursions from Cowes, where she is going, with the Princess Victoria, to pass the summer. The details of all this are too foolish for me to trouble you with them, even if I were disposed, or had time to do so. But it is very provoking that there should be advisers so wrong-headed, or so interested, as to create disputes where it would be so easy to avoid them, and which must necessarily, if made public, prove injurious to the Royal Family. In the meantime various little matters add to these annoyances. Your two Princes of Würtemberg had been invited to Windsor, and were to have been there to-day; but a note from the Duchess of Kent to the Queen has desired that they may be excused, as they have already paid their court to their Majesties at St. James's, and the short time they have to stay is hardly sufficient for all they have to see in London. I should have thought that one of the things they would have been most desirous of seeing was Windsor; and at all events such a refusal of the King's invitation was not gracious. I am really ashamed when I look at the quantity of

paper I have covered with this stuff. It is a proof that I have nothing to say that is material.

Your letter is just brought to me; ten thousand thanks for this proof of your kindness and remembrance. I need not tell you what pleasure it has given me. I rejoice in your having been so well pleased with the *Comet*, and only wish it could have taken you all the way. I have not another minute.

God bless you, and believe me,

Ever dearest Princess,

Yours most entirely,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Peterhof,
July 6th, 1833.

If you knew what my existence was, you would bear me some gratitude, my dear lord, for writing to you. I have not time for sleep; I hardly breathe—but I often think of you, and needs must tell you so.

Perhaps as you have already heard, I met the Emperor out at sea, he having sallied forth to capture me. He overwhelms me with kindness, with marks of his confidence and friendship, placing me on a footing of intimacy with himself and the Empress. With all my heart, too, I appreciate the welcome I receive, and certainly it is impossible to be a witness, as I now am, of the perfect simplicity, happiness, and gaiety of their family life, and of the great qualities, both in heart and head, of the Emperor, without feeling one's self in every way drawn towards him. In short, in this matter, my satisfaction is entirely beyond what I

had cause to expect. In regard to the fatigue suffered by my poor body, that, also, goes beyond anything I had been led to foresee. I am quite overwhelmed. From morning to night it is nothing but military reviews, festivals, dinners, excursions, and balls. I dress four times a day. The heat is that of the tropics, and an absolute uncertainty always reigns as to what may be going to take place during the next quarter of an hour. Just imagine how all this suits me!

What are they doing in England? and what are you doing? Up to the present moment I am the latest arrival from those parts; and yet it seems to me an eternity since I left England. I have fixed the date of my departure for the end of the month, which will get me back to you by the 10th or 12th of August. However, I cannot, of course, answer that *my* wishes will be respected in this matter. I have seen no one of the Corps Diplomatique as yet, but they are all to be received here on the Empress's birthday, which is celebrated on the 13th; then is the time when Peterhof is seen in all its magic splendour. The blue sea, some hundreds of beautiful fountains, and waterfalls, those fine black pine-trees that you like so much, and the ancient gilded palace crowning the slopes—all this, and the brilliant Court, truly makes a most resplendent show. The night of the birthday the evening closes with a general illumination, on which occasion they light two hundred thousand coloured lamps in and about the gardens, and have two thousand men in attendance to see after them. What I tell you is rather a contrast to your dull mode of life in London, with your smoke and your indocile House of Lords, but you will tell me all about it, none the less, I hope.

Good-bye, my dear lord, and do not forget me. Tell Lord Durham that here they all retain a most pleasant recollection of his visit, and that the Emperor in particular holds him in the most cordial esteem. He talked a great deal to me about him.

I look with great eagerness for your letters, and rely with confidence on your friendship. My confidence will not, I trust, be disappointed.

[The ambition of Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, had thrown the East into a turmoil. In 1831 he had conquered Syria, and had only been prevented from marching on Constantinople by the sending of 15,000 Russian troops to the shores of the Bosphorus. England and France, however, refused to sanction Russian interference, and the Sultan was forced to cede Syria to Mehemet Ali in fief. On July 8, 1833, the Sultan, disgusted with the attitude of the Western Powers, concluded the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi with the Czar, and in a secret article agreed to close the Dardanelles to all but Russian vessels.]

To Earl Grey.

Peterhof,
Thursday, July 18th, 1833.

How can I sufficiently thank you, my dear lord, for your kind letter of June 26? An accident that befell one of the Baltic steam-packets has disorganized the mail-service, and hence we are very much behindhand just now in the matter of London news. Although, from this, the date of your letter was not very recent, it in no wise diminished either the interest of its contents or the pleasure of being thus remembered by you. I beg you to believe that in the midst of a society and occupations that in no way tend to recall you to my mind, and with an amount of dissipation that will hardly allow two ideas to remain together in my head,

you are, none the less, almost always present to my recollection.

I learn with pleasure that the crisis, from which so much was to be feared at the time when I left London, has not fallen out badly, and that your threats of retiring to Howick were, as I then said, devoid of common-sense; forgive the hasty expression, but I take such pleasure in seeing it has come true.

The squabbles that have been going on at Kensington Palace do not surprise me. The cause is that German *morgue* and little-mindedness which is rampant in that quarter; those people are wrong-headed to the utmost possible degree, all of which, however, is a great pity, for, after all, the future of England is placed in their hands. Here I have before my eyes the sight of a perfect domestic union, and, in truth, it does one's heart good to see how complete is the happiness that reigns between all members of the Imperial Family.

The birthday entertainment was very fine, but fatiguing enough to make one die of it; I very much prefer the smaller parties. I dine then at a table with only four places set—with the Emperor, the Empress, and Prince Albert, the Empress's brother.* Nothing can be more comfortable, nor, for me, more interesting. My conversations with the Emperor are always on subjects of interest, and the more I come to know him, the more am I convinced that Russia has never had a Sovereign who was more the friend of peace, and more desirous of maintaining a good understanding with all other countries, than the Emperor Nicholas. He seems, above all, to be penetrated by the idea that

* Son of William III. of Prussia.

to maintain the good relations at present existing between Russia and England is in every way for the interest of both nations; that it is the natural condition of things, equally necessary to both, and that it can and ought for no consideration to be changed. I have seldom met with a mind so logical, and, at the same time, so matter-of-fact and so practical, as that of the Emperor. He is very much pleased with the news from Constantinople. Your Ambassador there is acting very nobly, and with great good sense, which means: in every way befitting the representative of a great Power. A quarrelsome man would have done much mischief at Constantinople at a time like the present; but the frank and loyal way in which Lord Ponsonby meets Orloff has enabled this Eastern Question to be brought to a prompt conclusion. Our troops and our fleet have left the Bosphorus, and it is an excellent thing that matters are so ended.

I have no doubt the Belgian Question, too, will now be terminated as we all desire. Be assured, no one here is in love with the King of the Netherlands, and they understand him thoroughly. We want the affair settled just as much as you do.

Adieu, my dear lord. I leave this positively on August 6, so you will have me back in London by the 15th at latest, unless I sink to the bottom of the sea! And I think that if I get back once again safe and sound to England, I shall not stir for the rest of my life.

How happy I am at the thought of seeing you again! and what talks we shall have! God bless you.

With all my heart,

Yours most truly,

To Earl Grey.

Peterhof,
July 18/30*th*, 1833.

This will be my last letter, my dear lord, for I leave in a week's time, and after this I shall have no other opportunity for writing to you.

I have spent three days at the camp, in the midst of 50,000 men. I have been to sea, and seen the fleet at the naval review; and to-morrow I am going to attend the manœuvres, which are to last four days. After which I shall doubtless come back to you extremely wise in all such matters. What I, however, can hardly believe is, that I shall survive the fatigues I undergo here. The pleasure I take in it all keeps up my strength at present, for everything I see and hear gives me the greatest satisfaction. But this does not in any way prevent my having the pleasantest anticipations of the moment when I shall see you once again. You will then no longer be in the midst of your Parliamentary worries, and if you talk to me much about Howick I shall come down there to pay you a visit. So you see how I arrange both your affairs and my own. I send you only these few lines to-day, because so very shortly I shall be able to say much more by word of mouth. I hardly dare tell you how much I long to find that most amiable of *Comets* waiting for me at Hamburg; but if she could be there on August 11, what a happiness it would be! By one means or another, however, provided always the sea does not swallow me up, I shall be in London by the 15th, or immediately afterwards.

Adieu, my dear lord, and *au revoir*, which is a

charming end to a letter. So may it all turn out, and let me find you still with all your old friendship for me. Accept meanwhile a thousand assurances of that which I bear to you.

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday, Aug. 21st, 1833.

You will have heard of my arrival, my dear lord, for I left word of it at Downing Street while you were at the House of Lords. Last night it was impossible for me to stir out. I am dying to see you—when shall it be? some time this morning, perhaps? Let me know, and also the hour.

Have you had any answer about your house at East Sheen? how I wish you could get it this year again!

Good-day to you, and good-bye. I am so happy at finding myself near you once more. But I really must see you.

A thousand kindest regards.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE QUESTION.

The Czar's Journey—Marriage of Lord Fordwich—Queen Donna Maria at Windsor—The Meeting of the Sovereigns at Münchengrätz—Princess Lieven's proposed Visit to Howick—Failure of Don Miguel's Attempt on Lisbon—Prince Talleyrand leaves England—The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland—The expected Courier from Count Nesselrode—Lady Jersey—Lord Stuart de Rothsay—News from Portugal; M. de Palmella—The 'Memoirs and Correspondence of Mirabeau'—Death of Ferdinand VII. of Spain—The Queen Regent and Don Carlos—Don Sebastian—Lady Jersey and Lord Palmerston—Don Pedro in Portugal—M. Zea Bermudez—The Queen Regent's Manifesto—Prince Leopold in Paris—Lady Jersey and Lord Grey—New Year's Day at Brighton—Don Miguel's Answer to Don Pedro—The Duchess of Bedford—Society at Brighton; at the Pavilion—Death of Mr. George Lamb—News of Prince Lieven's Recall—Despatch from Count Nesselrode—Cause of Prince Lieven's Recall—Lord Grey's Speech in the House of Lords—The Commission of Inquiry on the Irish Church—The Quadruple Alliance Treaty—Final Defeat of Don Miguel—The Irish Coercion Act; Resignation of Lord Althorp—Lord Grey Resigns Office—Lord Melbourne's Administration—Departure of Prince and Princess Lieven for Russia.

[On July 2 Captain Charles Napier, who was now in command of Don Pedro's squadron, came up with Don Miguel's fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and, closing at once, succeeded in capturing every vessel of which it was composed. Being now master of the sea, Don Pedro proceeded to blockade the Portuguese ports, Donna Maria was proclaimed Queen, and the Miguelites were forced to evacuate Lisbon.]

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Wednesday, Sept. 11th, 1833.

Here I am writing, my dear lord, and punctual to the appointed day; but what news can one have to

send to a Prime Minister? The task, you will allow, is difficult. Would you wish to know what most occupies my mind? It is full of anxiety about my Emperor. He had left Cronstadt on August 28, and instead of having arrived on September 1 at Stettin, on the evening of the 4th they had as yet no news of him. There have been storms in the Baltic, much as we have had here. The Emperor is extremely venturesome, and I tremble for his safety, for my regard falls very little short of worship for him.

We are almost by ourselves here. Esterhazy kept us in good humour for two days, but he has left this morning. His presence does one's health good—he keeps up one's spirits. To-day Wessenberg and Dedel come to replace him; and to-morrow the Seftons are expected.

The family here are greatly delighted—Lord Fordwich is going to marry Lady Anne de Grey.* Lord de Grey arrives here to-day about the settlements. She is a fine young woman, very pleasant and very rich.

Donna Maria is in the midst of all the pomp of Windsor.† I trust she will receive good news from Portugal. What a great opportunity it will be for *speechifying!*‡

It appears to me every day more likely that you will soon see us at Howick. The King of the Netherlands very evidently only wants to gain time, and seeks

* Lady Anne Robinson.

† She had come over to England from Havre with the Duchess of Braganza, her stepmother, and they were on the point of embarking for Lisbon. The ex-Emperor of Brazil, Don Pedro, was at this period commonly called the Duke of Braganza; his second wife (married in 1829) was Amélie, daughter of Eugène Beauharnais, Duke of Leuchtenberg.

‡ William IV.'s habit.

pretexts on every hand. The worst possible one is the journey he now wishes his son to undertake to the place where the Sovereigns are to meet.* The Emperor loves the Prince of Orange like a brother, and will be most happy once more to see him. He was expecting him at Petersburg when I arrived there, and was much vexed at his father's not allowing him to come; for (as was the case long ago at Friedland) the Belgian Question does not interfere with their private friendship. The Emperor wishes the question to be settled quickly; and he has no further instructions of any sort to give my husband, nor any new course to prescribe to him. This meeting is, therefore, as I repeat, the worst of possible reasons on the part of the King of the Netherlands for delaying. But as a pretext for breaking faith anything is good enough. The result will be further delays, and nothing will be done here; the only good part is, that we shall be free to set out on our journey North. And, after all, I am quite decided, if my husband should be detained at the last moment, to set out by myself; for it would really be too humiliating, at the end of twelve years that we have been talking of the visit, thus, at the eleventh hour, to be prevented carrying it out. So you see my *amour propre*, as well as my friendship, has taken up arms.

Adieu, my dear lord. Write to me Sunday, and address your letter to London. My husband is greatly obliged to you for sending him the venison.

Kindest messages to Lady Grey, and a thousand regards for yourself.

* In September the Sovereigns of Russia, Prussia and Austria were to meet at Münchengrätz, in Bohemia.

Howick,
Sept. 14th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

A thousand and a thousand thanks for your very kind letter. Believe me, it was not thrown away upon me, and if you realize the hope which it holds out of my seeing you here, I shall be but too happy.

We arrived on Wednesday to dinner, having performed our journey with great ease in three days; so you see it is not so formidable an affair as it appears. I advise you to take the same stages, viz.: Grantham, Northallerton (both good inns, particularly the first), and Howick, reserving your visits till your return. I am the more anxious about this, as the season is fast advancing towards winter, and I wish you to see this place before the leaves and flowers are all gone. They are already more decayed than they generally are at the end of October.

The season has been unusually stormy. The oldest people do not remember tempests so long and so terrible, and the loss of shipping on the whole extent of this coast has been most afflicting. I am not surprised, therefore, at your anxiety about your Emperor, but I trust he will have got into some safe port, and that by this time your fears may have been relieved. The length of time alone furnishes no ground for apprehension, for you may remember that Lord Durham was nine days on his passage, in the same vessel, from Cronstadt to Stettin.

I have heard nothing of any interest in the way of news since I left London. As to the King of Holland, it is for the five Powers to determine how long they will allow him to set them at defiance, and to keep all

Europe in a state of uneasiness. He counts too much on our forbearance, but he may find at last, to his cost, that patience has its limits.

Pray offer my congratulations to Lord and Lady Cowper on the marriage of Lord Fordwich. As it gives them pleasure, I sincerely rejoice in it. I have at times been angry with Lady Cowper, but there is nobody I feel more inclined to like and to admire.

I shall expect an answer on the appointed day, and hope it will announce the time being fixed for your Northern expedition. Remember my recommendation to postpone your visits till your return, which will be best on all accounts, but more especially because shorter days make shorter stages more convenient.

God bless you, dearest Princess, and believe me,

Yours most affectionately,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Panshanger,
Wednesday, Sept. 18th [1833].

I received your letter of the 14th last night, my dear lord, and I answer it to-day.

We intend going straight to Howick, and keeping our other visits for the return journey. We hope to set out October 8, which will bring us by the 10th, or 11th at latest, to Howick. This is what is *settled*, and greatly does it rejoice my heart.

Lady Cowper and her husband are very much obliged to you for your congratulations on the marriage of their son, and she in particular was extremely gratified by the kind manner in which you wrote of her. She affirms that if ever you were 'angry with

her,' it is because she has been 'misrepresented to you'; and she returns with interest the kindly feelings you have for her. Her departure* is a real grief to me, and this, with the going away of the Duchess of Cumberland, who is leaving at about the same time, deprives me of my two most intimate women friends. I wish to goodness I could get someone who would undertake to love me during their absence. I would pay good wages.

Of the Emperor we have as yet only the account in the newspapers, but, thank God! he is at least safe and well. It is from Portugal now that we are looking for interesting news. My own opinion is that all is over with Don Miguel, and that the failure of his attempt on Lisbon leaves him without other resource. They tell me Donna Maria is extremely plain-looking. It is a misfortune in a Queen. On the other hand, they tell me her stepmother† is perfectly charming.

I have received letters lately from the Prince of Orange. According to these, there never was any question of his going to visit the Emperor, which proves how false are often the reports one hears. Dedel,‡ who came down to spend a day here, does not seem sorry to have got rid of his colleague. M. de Talleyrand has obtained the leave of absence he applied for, and he starts Saturday. I go in to town to-morrow to give him a farewell dinner. He is a real loss to society. They say Olivia de Ros is going to marry Lord Cowley's eldest son. You see, I give you the

* Lord and Lady Cowper were going to the Riviera for their daughter's health.

† The Duchess of Braganza. See note, p. 462.

‡ Baron van Zuylen had been succeeded by M. Dedel as Dutch Plenipotentiary sent to attend the Conferences.

news I hear down in the country, for I know no other.

Adieu, my dear lord; our correspondence is regulated most charmingly. Would that all else in the world were as well arranged; it would be so much better.

A thousand kindest regards.

Howick,
Sept. 22nd, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your most welcome letter, naming the day for the commencement of your journey, reached me on Friday. This time, at least, I hope I shall not be disappointed, and that I shall at last have the pleasure of seeing you here. But why is it put off so long? We shall be content, however, if you keep your appointment, and only beg that you will not allow it to be further delayed, even for a single day. My only fear now is that you may find our family party very dull, for there is nobody within reach of this place, except little Tankerville, whom I could ask to meet you.

I can well appreciate the loss you will sustain in Lady Cowper, but as to the other, I cannot understand it. I can judge, indeed, only from externals; but her manners appear to me those of a great lady on the stage. I propose myself to supply the vacancy which this occasions. You say you will give good wages, and I shall be very reasonable.

It is very extraordinary that our only account of the attempt on Lisbon on the 5th should be by a letter written by Lord William Russell to our Minister at

Madrid. From this it would appear that the Miguelite army had been completely repulsed. I quite agree with you that, deprived of all assistance from without, it seems impossible that the contest on the part of Don Miguel should ultimately be successful. But with the assistance of the priests he may be able to keep up a desultory war, inflicting the greatest evils on the country. I often ask myself whether we ought to suffer this to go on, and I find myself insensibly growing very warlike. As to the Dutch King, it requires the patience of Job to endure his proceedings.

Our weather is cold for the season, and I do not regain strength as I ought to do.* God bless you, dearest Princess.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday, Sept. 25th, 1833.

Thanks a thousand times, my dear lord, for your letter, and for the kind manner in which you receive our proposals for October 8. We are still keeping to our intention of starting that day. Obstacles may arise (for everything is possible), but as yet I do not foresee any.

We gave M. de Talleyrand a farewell dinner the evening before last; and I must tell you that from the tragic manner in which he and Madame de Dino both take their going away, I greatly fear they are not coming back again. I almost believe he is either going to his death, or to accept office in the Government,

* Lord Grey was now in his seventieth year.

and this last alternative the newspapers (those of the opposition, it is true) have already prophesied. Do you believe in the report? I shall not feel at all amiable towards his successor, whoever he may be. Dedel continues in a state of perfect ignorance. They send him no news from the Hague; he hears that Verstolk* has not taken office again, which makes him think that he will have to go back home.

I see by your letter that in Portuguese matters you are becoming somewhat warlike. I will confess I think you are right. Things go on too long and too wearisomely in this world. If you would only begin, the war-fever would master everybody else too, and one after the other, each would find it necessary to join in. We should then have a proper general war, which would leave things a great deal straighter than they are at present. I beg you not to set down my abominable sentiments in your note-book of Premier, for I am speaking to you as though you did not hold that office, and it bores me, with you, to have to be always attending to prudence. I wish to retain my freedom of speaking, right or wrong, just as the ideas pass through my head. I am quite of your opinion in the matter of my friend Number 2. I have always thought she had the appearance of a stage-queen. Also everything goes with her at a snail's pace; it is so long drawn out, formal and particular, and yet with all this (which is very antipathic to me), she is so excellent and faithful, so appreciative and so devoted in her friendship, that it is impossible for me not to love her. You will have heard of the unpleasant affair

* Baron Verstolk van Soelen had been Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Hague.

that lately took place at Kew. They are certainly most unlucky. They leave on October 1, and go to pass a night at Walmer Castle, as M. de Talleyrand has just been doing. Lord Charles Wellesley accompanies the Duke of Cumberland as his Aide-de-Camp.

We receive to-night at dinner the Court of Kew, with Lady Jersey and all the German diplomatists. Esterhazy is madder than ever. He and I never stop laughing together, and we have promised each other to do it for the remainder of our lives. By the way, he says he is coming to Howick, too. Wessenberg and Dedel want to go and travel about Devonshire without any servant, riding outside in the stage coaches, and being perfectly independent. Bülow alone, whose craze is his diplomatic work, remains on in London as the sole monument of the Corps Diplomatique.

Adieu, my dear lord; the punctuality with which we write to one another is charming. I love regularity in things that are pleasant, and your letters please me much. But I shall save you the trouble of writing one or two of them in the month of October, and that will be delightful.

A thousand kindest regards.

Howick,
Sept. 28th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter came most punctually on the appointed day, and gave me, as usual, the greatest pleasure. I 'will no longer doubt the certainty of my seeing you here, and am rejoiced at the prospect of Esterhazy's coming to enliven our solitude. Why

should not Bülow come too? What can he do when left alone in London? and here I think we might form a very pretty little committee to settle the affairs of Europe. I have already a very nice scheme for this purpose. You may send the King of Holland to Siberia; Miguel may go to expiate his vices at Spandau. I shall have no objection to making an establishment for Pedro at St. Helena: and the Grand Turk?—ay, that will be a more difficult question, and I think we must trust a little to events there to settle themselves.

I had letters from Talleyrand and from Madame de Dino, both expressing an anxious wish and intention to return, but both also in a tone of low spirits denoting a presentiment of the contrary. They will both be a great loss to society, and I quite agree with you that it will be difficult, with a view either to public or private interests, to replace Talleyrand as Ambassador from France. I do not think there is any chance of the *Porte-feuille;* of the other side of the alternative I see much more. I thought him greatly changed and enfeebled, and at eighty a man does not easily recover. There are those who think that Madame de Dino, seeing this, would not wish him to return. But where could he lead a life more suited to his health than here, with just occupation enough to interest him, and a society which he appeared to like, and which is more in accordance with his aristocratic habits than that of *la nouvelle France?*

This catastrophe at Kew is most unfortunate. All the contrary testimony will be opposed in vain to the dying declaration, repeated in three separate letters, of the wretched man. It being the second case of the

same sort, will confirm the opinion which the public had previously conceived. No man can think worse of another than I do of the person whom this will chiefly affect. But do not imagine that I can feel anything but the deepest regret at such an event.

Your next, I hope, will tell me positively the day and hour on which you are to set out; let me repeat my injunction to you, not to stop on the way. The leaves are falling fast, and the flowers withering, and all our beauty will be gone if you delay. God bless you, dearest Princess.

Believe me ever,

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday, Oct. 2nd, 1833.

Here is my Wednesday letter, my dear lord; but very probably I shall write again to you before many days to tell you exactly the day and hour of our departure. This I am unable to do at present.

The fact is, my husband must of necessity stay on here for a messenger, who, Count Nesselrode informs him, will be despatched from Berlin as soon as his visit to that capital is at an end. Count Nesselrode had arrived there on the 24th, and was to remain a week. The messenger will probably arrive here by Saturday next, and then there will be nothing to prevent our starting, as originally fixed, on Tuesday, the 8th. If the messenger were delayed, this would put off our journey for one or two days. However, I will send

you notice of all this as soon as I myself know anything further. Esterhazy has quite made up his mind to come down to Howick at the same time that we do, and I think Bülow even will come; but you shall hear more about it all in a few days. Meanwhile, pray write to me again as usual.

We gave a great dinner-party yesterday, in town, in honour of the marriage. Ten members of the Cowper family and of the Lambs, and six of the De Greys. Palmerston was there, of course, and a few diplomats, to save appearances, as Esterhazy says. I returned, however, to Richmond that same night, driving through a fog that was so thick as to prevent one seeing the lamps, and I in my open carriage! I can already hear the scolding you will give me. No matter, I should do it all over again. The fact is, I have a holy horror of London just now; it is so black and dismal, and so abominably cold. Lady Jersey, who came to my party, does not yet know when she leaves. Her husband has been in bed for the last week with sciatica and gout, and they do not know when he will be better; he has got it in the thigh. Lord Burghersh, too, is down with a like attack, and they are anxious about him.

Lord Stuart de Rothsay has come back from his expedition to Iceland. What a strange notion of his going there, and with such a mystery about it that his wife even did not know where he had started off to go! Lord Aberdeen has gone down to Scotland. Such is my budget of news from Lady Jersey. She paid Lord Melbourne all sorts of pretty attentions yesterday, and he received them with his usual boisterous laughter. There is not a word of news as to politics;

one would imagine all Europe was remaining quiet during your stay at Howick in order not to disturb your repose. It is to be hoped they will not disturb our journey either.

Adieu, my dear lord, once more.

A thousand kindest regards.

D. LIEVEN.

Howick,
Oct. 4th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your letter, which I have received this morning, has disturbed me very much. Any delay will, I fear, be fatal to my hopes of seeing you here. The despatch may not come so soon as you expect. When it comes it probably will require some communication with the Foreign Office, and in the meantime the season is fast advancing. We are already at October 4, and I must be in town by November 10. For God's sake don't delay an hour more than is necessary! You have already delayed too long. We have had a countryman of yours here for the last two days—Count Pahlen. He left us this morning. I am afraid he must have found our party very dull. I shall be delighted to see Bülow if he can be persuaded to come. With Esterhazy and him, I shall be less afraid of your being bored. I am very sorry for poor Lord Jersey, but bad as the sciatica and gout are, I am not sure he would not prefer them to a journey to Barcelona or Odessa.

The day on which you said there was no news brought what was excellent news from Lisbon. The best part of it was the appointment of a Council with Palmella at its head.

I cannot write more to-night, and hope it will not be necessary for me to write more again, but I tremble for your next letter.

Ever, dearest Princess,
Most entirely yours,
GREY.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Saturday, Oct. 5th, 1833.

The steamboat from Hamburg arrived yesterday, my dear lord, but there was no Russian messenger on board. Hence it is only next Monday evening that my husband can now expect him; and this, of course, entails a delay in setting out on our journey. It is all most provoking. As soon as my husband receives his despatches, however, I will write to you again; for their contents will immediately decide our fate,-though I see no reason to imagine they will force us to delay still further.

I slept here in town last night, after having a dinner-party for the Cowpers. For the last two days I have not been feeling very well, and I particularly do not want to fall ill now. I have heard nothing new, although I found myself at table between Home and Foreign Affairs.* The Home Secretary is really an excellent creature, very honest and simple-minded, with not an atom of humbug about him, and, thank Heaven! not in the least melancholy. M. Bacourt does not seem to think that M. de Talleyrand will come back. By the way, Prince Auguste d'Aremberg, who is just dead, has left Bacourt, by will, the 'Memoirs

* Lord Melbourne and Lord Palmerston.

and Correspondence of Mirabeau.' They say these are most interesting. If I told you all this before, it only shows I am getting into my dotage, and repeat myself.

Fordwich is to be married on Monday; and the Cowpers start Wednesday. Lady Holland, they tell me, is getting better. The return of the William Russells is a matter of great satisfaction to me. She is really a most agreeable person, and a great resource in society.

Adieu, my dear lord. Bülow is getting quite thin for lack of news; one hears really of nothing at all now.

A thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
*Oct. 8th** [1833].

You are quite right, my dear lord, to get impatient at our delaying, and even to be angry with us, and as I really feel it to be becoming an impertinence, this constant putting off, I have been talking over the matter very plainly with my husband.

The steamboat from Hamburg arrived yesterday with a messenger from Petersburg, who tells us no news at all; and the boat did *not* bring Count Nesselrode's messenger from Berlin, who was to have told us everything. This latter personage can now only arrive Friday night or Saturday morning (by the next steamboat), and only after his arrival, and after looking through the despatches he brings, would my husband

* Docketed in error 'September.'

be able to say if he can start, and when. The total uncertainty of our plans, combined with your letter, warning us not to postpone our departure, force us to give up all idea of our visit; for under the most favourable circumstances, and should my husband not receive instructions that compel him to remain on here, we could only set out on Monday, the 14th. You find the 8th or 9th already late, but what would you say to the 14th? All this, my dear lord, has cost us both many regrets, believe me; and, for me personally, it is a real grief. For beside the enjoyment, and the very great and chief pleasure of passing some days with you, there was also in this journey movement, distraction, and novelty—in short, all one most longs for during this season of the year, when London and its neighbourhood are so dismal. You will, at least, believe me when I tell you it is a real sorrow to me thus finally to have to abandon so cherished a project. And now, my dear lord, we must exchange parts, and it is I who am going to urge you to hasten your departure from Howick. Do pray come back to London.

The King of Spain is dead,* and what a number of events may not follow in the train of this event! Since the Revolution in France, nothing of an equal importance to this has occurred—which is equivalent to saying that since you came into power this is the most momentous event, in its probable effect on foreign affairs, that we have yet seen. Further, the consequences may come about with great celerity—and how can you then remain away at such a distance? This is what all the diplomatists say; we should like

* Ferdinand VII. died September 29.

well to find ourselves mistaken, but the probabilities are surely in favour of what I am writing.

I was at the wedding yesterday. I like weddings; they cheer me up. But poor Lord Fordwich did not seem at all in a gay mood. He was suffering very much from a pain in his stomach. The bride had an appearance that suited the circumstances of the case. Heavens! what a size she is, and so far from pretty! The Cowpers leave to-morrow; and I go into town to-day to have them to dinner. The newly-married couple follow them in a week.

Adieu, my dear lord; I wish I could have said *au revoir!* A thousand kindest regards, and pray let me hear from you soon.

Howick,
Oct. 12th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I need hardly say how much I am grieved at the final extinction of all my hopes of seeing you here. From the moment I heard of your being obliged to wait for this unfortunate courier, I felt certain that you would not come, and yet I could not help feeling all the vexation of disappointment when your letter came. It is clear now that I shall never have the happiness of seeing you here. What may happen before next year, God only knows; but the prospect is not encouraging, and whether you will be in England, or I in the world, seems most uncertain.

I quite agree with you that one of the most important events which has taken place since I came into office is that of the King of Spain's death. It involves consequences of the gravest import. But my

mind is quite made up to them; and, let others do what they may, our course will be straightforward. At present I see no necessity for hastening my arrival in London, which I have fixed for the 10th of next month. Our weather has been lately very fine, and I had great pleasure in thinking I should be able to show you this place, with still some remains of beauty. But I have not been able to enjoy it much, having been very unwell.

I quite differ with you as to the effects of a marriage; I have always felt it to be a most melancholy ceremony, deciding upon the fate of two persons who can know little of each other, and with the chances sadly against their future happiness. When one parts with a child it is still worse, and I cannot describe to you how much I have always been affected by it. I do not wonder that Lord Fordwich should have looked melancholy, thinking of his wife as you do. A pain in the stomach was a bad thing to begin with, and I only hope that it may be the worst he will have to undergo.

I am very stupid, and not in train to write; so good-night, and God bless you.

Yours affectionately,

GREY.

[On the death of Ferdinand VII., his next male heir was his brother, Don Carlos, but the King left two daughters by his fourth wife, Queen Christina, the eldest of whom was Isabella, afterwards Queen, born in 1830.

The ancient laws of Spain allow females to reign. Philip V., in 1713, introduced the Salic Law, but Charles IV., in 1789, re-enacted the ancient constitution. The Cortes, in 1812, reverted to the Salic Law. Ferdinand, in 1830, revived once again the ancient custom, but shortly afterwards annulled his act, thus making Don Carlos his

heir. But he married, and having two daughters only, in 1832 he had re-established the old law, and by so doing settled the crown on his daughter Isabella. The Cortes, further, in 1833, had sanctioned this final arrangement, and on his death in September, Queen Isabella II. was proclaimed, and the Queen-mother, Christina, named Regent. Don Carlos, however, at once announced his intention of claiming the crown by legal right, and rallied to his standard all the adherents of absolute rule, and especially the people of the Basque provinces.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday, Oct. 16th, 1833.

I received your letter yesterday, my dear lord. I knew well that you would sympathize with all my regrets; and, in truth, these increase daily. But the event has proved how wise I was, with the uncertainty, to give up all idea of paying you our visit; for just imagine, even down to the moment at which I am now writing the all-important messenger has not yet arrived! Count Nesselrode writes to my husband from Berlin, under date of the 7th, that his stay there will be protracted for at least another week, and that it is only when he himself is leaving that he can send off a full despatch. It is, therefore, not before the 21st that it can reach us here, and it would only have been possible for us to have proposed setting out on our journey down to Howick after that date. I confess my preference for looking on the matter as impossible; and instead of keeping up false hope, I now resign myself. As I have already told you, I am looking forward to November 10, and no longer allow myself to think of aught else.

Lord Palmerston has been very well pleased with the tenor of the instructions given to Prince Felix

Schwartzenberg,* and I think you will be so, too. According to the report to-day, Verstolk returns to office, which would seem to promise rather greater pliability on the part of the King of the Netherlands. I am extremely curious to hear the first news from Spain. What you tell me of your having entirely made up your mind on this subject, seems to me both natural and wise on your part. The article in the *Globe* of the day before yesterday comments on the news, and enlarges on the probabilities in a very logical manner. We are all ready for the play to commence, both first and second places filled, and everybody looking on attentively. The Queen Regent† begins well. Her manifesto is full of wisdom and prudence; but will she keep to these lines?

I dined at Holland House the day before yesterday. Very good company, and very gay. She, very ill before dinner, very well after; Esterhazy, as ever, extremely noisy. They tell me Lady Howe has been appointed lady-in-waiting to the Queen, in place of Lady Ely, who has resigned. All I know besides this of Court news is that the King wishes his visits to Lady Errol and to Lord Albemarle to take place before he sets out for Brighton.

Adieu, my dear lord. I think you are staying away a very long time, and I shall be greatly rejoiced at your return.

Believe ever in my most faithful regards.

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* Recently attached to the Austrian Embassy.
† Queen Christina.

Howick,
Oct. 19th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your letter this morning, which gives me little to answer, and you would be tired of a repetition of my regrets at not seeing you here. Every fine day renews them, when I think of the pleasant walks or drives we might have had. I wish you could have seen the beautiful blue sea to-day, with the fields and woods still glowing with the tints of autumn, lighted up by the sun.

Upon the whole, the accounts from Spain are not unsatisfactory, but much, or, rather, everything, will depend upon what happens after Don Carlos enters Spain. If the Captain-General and army of Estremadura remain faithful to the Queen, his chance would appear desperate, and, indeed, there would be no security for his person after crossing the frontier. As Captain Ross has reappeared, the return of Don Sebastian seems no longer to be despaired of, and it requires little less than a miracle of this sort to settle Portugal between the two brothers.

I begin to count with the feelings of a school-boy, as the end of his holidays approaches, the days that it remains for me to pass here. Idleness is so congenial to me, and my pursuits here so much more to my taste than any other, that I look forward with something like horror to my dreary prison in Downing Street, and all that awaits me there. The only thing that consoles me is the pleasure that I shall have in seeing you again. But I shall return in a very savage humour, and if you do not behave very well, we shall quarrel. Louisa,*

* Lady Durham.

Lady Fanny, and one of her younger daughters are here. Lambton could not come on account of business, and we have, besides, some natives, who do not diminish the disappointment I have felt at your not being here.

On the 4th we shall set out, stop two nights at Lambton Castle, the same probably at Lord Howden's, and then make the best of our way to town, where I expect to arrive on the 9th or 10th. God bless you, dearest Princess. Let me find you kind and amiable, and believe me ever,

Yours most entirely,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday, Oct. 23rd, 1833.

Your letter, my dear lord, has afforded me the pleasure of enabling me to fix my mind on a certain date. I have a passion for dates, and I never can take any pleasure in things left vague—I like positive facts in everything. Till the date arrives, therefore, I look forward to the 10th, and on that day I shall come into town on purpose to see you. On the whole, I manage to get on pretty well with the rainy weather and the yellow leaves; at certain times I descend from my mountain, in order to come back again, giving myself some fatigue, and warming myself, all of which favours my appetite. All this is very material; but then, after all, we are animals, which, though an unflattering reflection, is none the less true.

Spain is not going to afford us as much diversion as

I had imagined. It appears that the power of the Queen Regent is consolidating itself, and that Don Carlos is not at all venturesome. I now hear nothing but praise of Zea*—so wags the world!

We have as yet received no news of Count Nèsselrode's departure from Berlin, and the famous messenger is still in the clouds. It would seem now as though we should have had plenty of time to go and come back from Howick before his advent. We expected him on October 5, and now, on the 23rd, he is still not arrived We are going to Stoke to-day; I shall play whist, but I shall not have a partner as pleasant as you were. Yesterday there must have taken place at Windsor Olivia de Ros's wedding. The ceremony was to be at six o'clock, a great dinner afterwards, and then Bushy Park for the honeymoon. The Duke of Wellington and all the Salisburys were expected at the Castle.

By the way, my dear lord, have you heard the great news of all London — Lady Jèrsey running after Lord Palmerston?—Lord Palmerston, not a little touched by her enticing ways, paying her visits during his mornings, of two hours' duration, and then little dinners with her, and then going to the theatre together; in short, a perfect family party! So much for the fidelity of men! Lady Jersey says they are going next week. Barcelona is given up, Odessa also, and the voyage will be circumscribed to Valençay, and nothing more. I certainly congratulate M. de Talleyrand for having such visitors on his hands for some weeks.

Adieu, my dear lord; believe in my true friendship for you, and in all the joy your speedy return gives me.

* At that time Spanish Prime Minister.

I expect some further news from you before you leave Howick, and I, too, will write to you again.

Howick,
Oct. 27th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I was prevented from writing yesterday, according to established custom. But this will arrive quite soon enough, for my stupidity is beyond description, and will be but too apparent in everything I do or write.

It is too provoking that your journey should have been prevented without any real necessity, and I am inclined to lay the blame on you for not having come away, as you might and ought to have done, before the eternal courier was announced. To-morrow begins the last week of my residence here, and I have suffered the time to slip away without having done half the business that called for my attention. When the weather is fine (and it still continues beautiful), I like to be out as much as I can, and the boxes which come every morning leave me little time for anything else.

Lately we have had a good deal of company. There are now here Lord Tankerville and Lord Ossulston, Lord F. Fitz Clarence, and Lord G. Hervey, and others whom you don't know. I don't know whether it is the character of the company, or that I daily become more unfit for society, but I feel more comfortable when we are quite alone. You are one of the very few persons in the world by whom I should like to have my solitude interrupted.

Things, on the whole, certainly look well in Spain; but nothing there yet appears sufficiently certain to

create confidence as to the result. It seems to me for the interest of all the world that the Queen's cause should be successful. It is the only chance for permanent tranquillity in Spain, which is so intimately connected with that of the world. But I have no doubt there are spirits enough at work to do all they can to prevent it. In Portugal I consider the contest decided, though there may be yet a good deal to do to bring a country from such a state of disorganization to a permanent settlement; and this work is not in the best hands, being committed to Pedro and his Ministers. But I do not see the possibility of Miguel's keeping up a regular army, and in spite of all the errors that may be committed, Portugal is not a country in which a guerilla warfare can long be sustained. But much will depend on what happens in Spain.

Your account of Palmerston and Lady Jersey amused me very much. May I not derive from it a hope that I, too, may again be taken into favour? I cannot conceive that the visit to Valençay should answer to any of the parties. Madame de Dino certainly does not like or admire 'the first woman in England;' nor should I imagine she is better suited to the taste of M. de Talleyrand.

I shall expect a letter on the usual day, which is the last I can receive here; and when I write next I will tell you where to direct whilst I am on my journey.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday, Oct. 30th [1833].

Here, my dear lord, is Wednesday come round, and your letter not arrived. This, however, shall not release me from my engagement, and I write to you as though I had a letter to answer. It gives me the greatest possible pleasure to think that very soon our correspondence may cease.

I passed some days at Stoke—the last few rather too much alone with the family party—but it did not matter, for we had fine weather, and Lord Sefton is always in good spirits. I, too, am still in excellent spirits. It is astonishing what a supply I brought back with me from Russia, and how it holds out.

In the way of news we have had plenty these last few days. The affairs of the Peninsula appear to be settling themselves, and the King of the Netherlands is mending his ways. Everything is getting right, and a good thing, too! I have received news from Lady Cowper from Geneva. The Jura was impassable from the snow, and they were obliged to make a great detour. They are to arrive to-day at Milan. How beautiful Lombardy must be looking now! We have, by the way, been having a continuance of real summer weather here, too. What have you got at Howick? The Duchess of Cumberland has reached Berlin, but very ill; her son, on the other hand, is better as regards his sight than when he left England. The Duke threatens to come back in January.

You will let me know if, in case I should come in to London on Monday, the 11th, I could count on a short visit from you during the morning of that day;

otherwise I shall probably not come in to town. And, by-the-bye, will you dine with us Thursday, the 14th, at Ashburnham House? You see how I take things in time. They tell me Lady Holland is going to take Lady Sandwich's house in town, next door to us.* Just fancy, how many messages there will be, all day long! Every time she is bored I shall be having her page* sent over to me.

Here is your letter arrived at last. I have but time to thank you for it, and to reiterate a thousand kindest regards. I shall await your next letter to know where to write to you. Bülow is here, while I am writing; he brings me no news. It appears the Bayonne telegraph does not always speak the truth, and that the recognition by Spain of Donna Maria is not an accomplished fact. To me, however, it does not seem that the matter can long be delayed.

Adieu.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Nov. 6th [1833].

You write to me, my dear lord, but you do not let me know where I am to address my answer. I send it therefore to the Treasury to take its chance, for they must surely know of your whereabouts in Downing Street. I rejoice greatly at the prospect of seeing you so soon, but will tell you frankly that as there is some doubt as to the Sunday and Monday, it is only Tuesday morning that I shall come in to town.

* See Greville, 'Diary,' ii. 332. 'This "little creature," as Lady Holland calls a great hulking fellow of above twenty, is called "Edgar," his real name being Tom or Jack.'

Let me know, further, at what hour to expect you, or if you would prefer my coming to see Lady Grey.

There is no sort of news, and affairs in Spain are not settling themselves. If only Zea's ferocious activity had brought matters to a crisis, one would have understood it all; but as it has remained profitless, it is really without any excuse. Bülow is getting quite thin for lack of news, and what Palmerston is doing puts the cap on it all. There will be nothing left of him soon. Lady Jersey is going every week, and does not go.

Adieu, my dear lord—adieu for the last time. It is delightful being able to add *au revoir* till Tuesday.

A thousand kindest regards.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Saturday, Nov. 9th [1833].

I had wished to write to you yesterday, my dear lord, but was suddenly taken with violent pains in the chest, and had to spend my day lying down, speechless and unable to move. To-day I am better, and want to thank you for your short note from Lambton Castle.* I am delighted to think that this answer of mine has so short a journey to make.

As you will see, so long as you remain away the world stands still. It is incredible how persistently stationary things are. I have a bad opinion of the news from Spain. The business will be greatly protracted, and will not turn out well. The Queen Regent appears to me to be acting very imprudently. A new dividing up of the land is, in truth, a revolution, and it is what consolidated the French Revolution.

* Of November 5.

In the dearth of other events, I see that Leopold has been creating a sensation in Paris by wearing a Russian decoration. I do not even know which it can be; for if I remember right, he was not present at the occupation of Paris, neither did he take part in the campaign of 1812—and these are the only two medals we have. M. de Bacourt tells me that M. de Talleyrand will be back here for certain by the beginning of December. Lady Jersey had accepted an invitation to go down to Broadlands to Lord Palmerston's, and I do not know what has prevented her. But you must, at least, admit that we have here an affair that has made some way.

You will have received, I trust, the letter in which I tell you I intend to come in to town Tuesday to see you. Do not forgot to let me know the time and place—that is, whether it is to be at my house, or at Lady Grey's. I must not tell you how much I am rejoiced at the prospect of seeing you again; it would not be *convenable.*

A thousand kindest regards.

Downing Street,
Nov. 11th, 1833.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am just arrived, and have only a moment to say that I will call on you to-morrow at four, or as soon afterwards as possible. I got your letters at the Hoo. How happy I am at the thoughts of seeing you so soon!

Yours most entirely,

GREY.

[*Nov.* 16*th*, 1833].*

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I am just setting out for Brighton, from whence I shall return on Wednesday to dinner. My cold still hangs on me, and I should be better to stay at home if it was in my power to do so. But, cold or not, I hope our party to the play may take place soon. The town rings with the exhibition made by Queen Sarah† at your soirée. I hear she says that I attempted to bow to her, and that she turned away her head. This is not true, but I am very willing to adopt this account of the adventure. I hear also that she says P[almerston] never was really in love with anybody but her. I have no news to send you, but have been very much amused with the account of the *coup d'épingle* given by Princess Metternich to Orloff at Münchengrätz. *Au revoir*, and God bless you.

Ever, dearest Princess,

Yours most entirely,

GREY

To Earl Grey.

Saturday, 16*th* [*Nov.*, 1833].

Your cold, my dear lord, came on very ill-advisedly, and I was much vexed at it. To console myself, therefore, I went alone to the theatre, after having driven out to Richmond. I am going back there again now, and come in to town Monday, or Tuesday at latest, to stay for good.

* Princess Lieven has docketed this letter in pencil 'November 17, 1833,' but it must have been written on the 15th or 16th, and precedes her answer written on the 16th.

† Lady Jersey. See H. B.'s 'Sketches,' No. lxxii., 'Queen Sarah.'

Your meeting of the other evening was recounted to me by the lady herself, who appeared flushed with victory at having been able to pass you by, while in possession of the arm of the Foreign Secretary. It is, in truth, a strange matter, and made so public that all society is taken aback by it. What a fine piece of gossip for Lord Sefton to pounce on!

Let me have word how your cold progresses. The weather is superb. I know no news. If you can tell me of any, pray do; for I rather bore myself at Richmond, and anything to distract one is very welcome.

Adieu, my dear lord, and a thousand kindest regards.

P.S.—On what day do you return from Brighton?

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Jan. 1*st*, 1834.

The first words I write on the first day of the New Year are to you, my dear lord. I begin by sending you all manner of good wishes, and must follow this up with some reproaches.

You promised me a letter from Woburn, and nothing has come. You are, however, back again in London, for I am so informed by the veracious *Court Newsman*. I am well pleased with myself here, and my only regret is that what is so pleasant is to last so short a time. Before very long I must go back and asphyxiate myself with the fogs of London. The Court treats us with great amiability. Society is not very numerously represented, and I regret much the absence

of Esterhazy, who is ever a charming antidote to the Duke of Gloucester. The New Year was rung in last night as we were all at supper, following on an evening-reception which succeeded a great dinner. All this is too much dissipation, and to-day I am quite upset in consequence.

If the papers report Don Miguel's answer correctly, it would seem to infer that he is prepared to come to terms with Donna Maria; for he only says it is impossible for him to treat in any sort of way '*with his brother*.' Is there any truth in my conjecture? We live here on the reports in the newspapers only. There is no one at Brighton who talks politics, and at the Pavilion they keep entirely to commonplaces.

I regret greatly that I shall not dine with you to-morrow night, and in saying this I show my amiability, for, in truth, the sunshine of Brighton enchants me. Adieu, my dear lord. I trust soon to be in receipt of a letter, for I count much on your remembrance and your friendship.

Yours ever,

D. LIEVEN.

Downing Street,
Jan. 1st, 1834.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Many happy New Years to you and yours! I expected to hear from you, and only promised to write if I had a letter to answer. None is come, and I am better than my word, as you are worse than yours. Amongst the gaieties of Brighton, you appear to have forgotten me. This I cannot bear, and must, therefore, endeavour to recall myself to your remembrance.

You ought to have much to tell me—much that

would be amusing, and much that would be interesting to me. Let me have a full budget. The papers state you to be dining almost every day at the Pavilion, and the dinners, and the soirées, and the morning-visits must furnish you a great stock of materials to satisfy a hungry correspondent. Here we have nothing of any importance, and what we have has appeared in the papers, in substance at least, from the private correspondents of the editors. They have now paid agents, and a regular journalist diplomacy established all over the world. In Spain things appear to be going on very well. In Portugal *les frères exnemis* appear to be vying with each other, which shall entitle himself to the greatest share of the general abhorrence.

I passed three very pleasant days at Lord Dacre's and at Woburn, though the illness of the poor Duchess* was a sad drawback on the enjoyments of the latter. You can conceive nothing like her colour. I do not exaggerate when I say that it is not exceeded by the brightest orange. She came, however, into the library for an hour or more each morning that I was there, and was still cheerful, notwithstanding the depressing nature of her complaint. The accounts of her to-day are, I am happy to say, better than they yet have been. I wish I could say as much for poor George Lamb;† but his case is desperate, and the best that can be said of him is that he is still alive. He probably cannot survive the night. Melbourne is very much affected by it, and Lady Cowper will also feel it

* The Duchess of Bedford.

† The Hon. George Lamb, M.P., brother of Lord Melbourne and of Lady Cowper, died January 2.

very deeply. We had a large dinner at Esterhazy's yesterday—Talleyrand, Madame de Dino, Tankervilles, and most of the diplomats who are in town, except Wessenberg, who was ill. The Hollands also were there. It was not very gay. Talleyrand did not seem well, and it was one of Lady Holland's bad days, her own sufferings being increased by the melancholy situation of George Lamb.

I hear you do not come back till Monday, so I shall expect to hear from you, though the stupidity of this letter is, God knows, quite enough to ease you of any wish to continue the correspondence.

Ever yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Brighton,
Thursday, Jan. 2nd, 1834.

We were thinking of each other at the same moment yesterday, my dear lord, and it gave me a real pleasure receiving your letter this morning at my waking. But I assure you that you most unconditionally promised me a letter from Woburn. It is no matter, however, now; and let us not quarrel over it, for we are according to rule on both sides at present, and I am already writing you my second letter of the year.

You wish me to send you all sorts of details; well, you force me to repeat myself, and you will be bored. You know well enough what life is at Court. Dinners of forty people, who are not all of them remarkably interesting; and no possibility of having any reasonable conversation. In the evening we all

sit at the round table. The King snoozes ; the Queen does needle-work, talks a good deal, and with much amiability, but never a word of politics. She is in very good spirits, and appears to enjoy excellent health. As to the King, he seems to have the most remarkably good constitution. The guests of greatest note are the Shrewsburys, a certain Lord Rosse, whom I had not met before, and the Conynghams ; yesterday, Sir J. Scarlett ; the day before, the Clarendons and the Maryboroughs—these are all the names I can remember. The music they give us is excellent. The Duke of Gloucester plays whist ; he has, however, left to-day, without staying to see Madame de Dino, who arrives to-morrow. The Duchess of Gloucester is getting quite fat. Princess Augusta is very unwell, and does not appear. And now, my dear lord, you know all that I know.

I cannot express to you how grieved I am at what you tell me of George Lamb's condition. His will be a real loss ; for he is a man of great intelligence, with a mind of a very superior order, honest, and frank almost to simplicity, and such an excellent heart. Lord Melbourne will, I think, have every reason, both on public and on private grounds, to mourn his loss. Lady Cowper, too, will be much afflicted. As for myself, I like all the family so much that, though I knew George Lamb but slightly, I have felt inclined to sit down and cry on hearing the news. I should trust he might yet escape, but your letter hardly allows of any hope.

I am just back from a visit to the Queen, who kept me long with her, and it is now dressing time, so all I can do is to close my letter. This is, however, the

first visit I have had the honour of paying her Majesty, whatever the papers may report to the contrary. Adieu, my dear lord.

A thousand kindest regards, and in all haste.

Downing Street,
May 17th, 1834.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I write merely to say that Lady Grey is going with me to Woburn, that you may not have the trouble of coming here to-morrow night, if peradventure you should have intended it.

I have seen very little of you lately; but be assured that this has been the cause to me of great regret, and that I look anxiously to the time when I may be more at liberty to resume my old habits. Will there be any chance of your long-promised visit to Howick this year? You probably have heard of Georgiana's frightful accident yesterday. She has not suffered from it, but it was a miraculous escape. God bless you.

Ever most entirely yours,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Sunday, May 18th [1834].

I have just received your note of yesterday, my dear lord, and thank you much for all the kind things you say to me therein. I had heard nothing of Lady Georgiana's accident. What was it? Happily, I need only inquire for curiosity's sake, since from what you say there is nothing to be anxious about.

We arrived here yesterday. The weather has not shown itself favourable to us, for since we came, there

has been nothing but cold. Would you kindly tell Lady Grey that her parcel, to be sent to Lady Keith, goes by to-day's messenger to Paris ?

Adieu, my dear lord; I shall be in London again by the end of the week, and I trust we are to meet at dinner at Lord Durham's on Sunday.

A thousand most faithful regards,

D. LIEVEN.

Downing Street,
May 22nd, 1834.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

What is this I hear on my arrival in town of a change in the Russian mission which will take you away from us? Nothing could have come upon me more unexpectedly or more painfully; and I cannot at once give up all hope that an event which I should so deeply regret may be averted. Lately, it is true, our political relations have not been so comfortable as I could wish; but there could exist no means so powerful to obviate or to lessen differences, as well as to promote friendly and cordial co-operation, whenever circumstances may fortunately admit of it, as the continuance of Prince Lieven here, where he has established amongst all who know him a reputation which will make it very difficult to supply his place with anybody possessing the same advantages.

Of yourself I say nothing, except that the idea of parting with a person whom I have known so long, who has always been so kind to me, and for whom I bear so sincere an attachment, occasions a pang which I have not power sufficiently to express.

I heard this last night, and did not believe it, having had nothing to lead me to the suspicion of such

an event. But it has unfortunately been confirmed this morning, and I could not help expressing the feeling which it has occasioned. When can I see you? If you will let me know at what hour to-morrow, before five, I can have that pleasure, though under the present circumstances it will be a melancholy one, I will make everything else give way to it. God bless you.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Friday, May 23rd [1834].

Your letter touched me deeply, my dear lord, but what you wrote was no surprise to me. I have always known that by *you* my husband would have justice done him; that in politics you would always act so as to conciliate wherever possible; and that for me personally you felt much friendship. Would to Heaven it had been *you* alone who had had to give effect to these sentiments! I can hardly write, I feel so sick at heart. It is you who are principally in my thoughts, in all the regret I feel at leaving England, that I love so well. My heart will always remain faithful in its friendship towards you, however far separated we may be in the future.

I shall be in town to-morrow after eleven o'clock; let me find a line from you to say at what time you will come, for I have many people to see, and wish to make my other appointments suit your convenience.

Adieu.

Ever your true friend,

Downing Street,
May 23rd, 1834.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I had mistaken the date of your letter, and thought you were to be in town to-day, when I wrote my note of this morning. Prince Lieven, whom I have just seen, has set me right. I will call at Ashburnham House, therefore, to-morrow at one, as I am afraid I may be obliged to attend a Cabinet afterwards.

Count Nesselrode's despatch gave me pleasure, as far as it expressed an approbation of Prince Lieven's conduct, and did him the justice, as to his conduct here, which he so well deserves. But in another sense it grieved me, as it appeared to take away all hope of its being possible to alter a decision which I regret more and more. Mr. Bligh* makes the same report of the honourable distinction intended to be conferred on the Prince by his new appointment, and of the manner in which the Emperor expressed the high opinion which he entertains for him.

I respond with all my heart to all the kindness of your note. I shall never forget the pleasure I have had in your society, or cease to regret its loss. God bless you.

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

[Prince Lieven, on his recall from London, was named Governor of the young Czarewitch, afterwards the Emperor Alexander II. In regard to the causes which led to Prince Lieven's abrupt recall, the following extracts from Mr. Greville's 'Memoirs' explain much that is left vague in the letters. In confirmation of what is here stated, compare the note from Princess Lieven to Lord Grey of the year 1832, given above, page 412.

* English Minister *ad interim* at Petersburg.

'February 16 (1833).—Madame de Lieven gave me an account (the day before yesterday) of the quarrel between the two Courts about Stratford Canning. When the present (Lord Grey's) Ministry came in, Nesselrode wrote to Madame de Lieven, and desired her to beg that Lord Heytesbury might be left there—"Conservez nous Heytesbury." She asked Palmerston and Lord Grey, and they both promised her he should stay. Some time after he asked to be recalled. She wrote word to Nesselrode, and told him that either Adair or Canning would succeed him. He replied: "Don't let it be Canning; he is a most impracticable man, *soupçonneux, pointilleux, defiant;* and that he had been personally uncivil to the Emperor when he was Grand-Duke*; in short, the plain truth was they would not receive him, and it was therefore desirable somebody, anybody, else should be sent." She told this to Palmerston, and he engaged that Stratford Canning should not be named. Nothing more was done till some time ago, when, to her astonishment, Palmerston told her that he was going to send Canning to St. Petersburg. She remonstrated, urged all the objections of her Court, his own engagement—but in vain; the discussions between them grew bitter: Palmerston would not give way, and Canning was one day, to her horror, gazetted. As might have been expected, Nesselrode positively refused to receive him. . . .

'. . . Lady Cowper has since told me that Madame de Lieven has been to blame in all this business: that Palmerston was provoked with her interference; that her temper had got the better of her, and she had thought to carry it with a high hand, having been used to have her own way, and that he had thought both *she* and her *Court* wanted to be taken down a peg; that she had told Nesselrode she could prevent this appointment, and, what had done more harm than anything, she had appealed to Grey against Palmerston, and employed Durham to make a great clamour about it. All this made Palmerston angry, and determined him to punish her, who, he thought, had meddled more than she ought, and had made the matter personally embarrassing and disagreeable to him.'—Greville, 'Diary,' ii. 357.]

Downing Street,
May 27th, 1834.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Lord Londonderry has just given notice of his intention to raise a discussion on our not having sent an

* This was denied. For the reasons which prevented Sir S. Canning taking up his appointment, see 'Life' by S. Lane-Pole, ii. 18-23.

Ambassador to St. Petersburg, on Monday next. In doing so, he spoke very handsomely of the Prince de Lieven, which gave me an opportunity of stating what I sincerely feel as to the loss we shall sustain here, and which, I think, will be equally felt at St. Petersburg, by his recall. So far, I was well satisfied with what took place, but anything beyond this; and more especially a discussion on the cause of Sir S. Canning's not proceeding on the mission to which he was appointed, must be extremely mischievous; and not the less so from its being introduced by that shatter-brained Marquis.

Yours most affectionately,

GREY.

To Earl Grey.

Wednesday, May 28th [1834].

My husband has this moment come back from Richmond, my dear lord, and learns from your note to me, as also from the newspapers, of what passed yesterday in the House of Lords.

To say he is profoundly touched by the manner in which you spoke of him, and that he appreciates the honour you have done him, would but feebly express all that he has in mind. And how can I, too, sufficiently thank you—*you*, whom I regard as my best friend here—and make you understand all the good your words have done my poor heart?

My husband fully agrees with you in what you say regarding the motion Lord Londonderry is to bring on; and be assured he will use his utmost efforts to prevent

further mischief. Of this he gives you his word, and trusts to be able to succeed.

Adieu, my dear lord, and believe in the lasting friendship and the gratitude of us both.

[On May 27, Sir Henry Ward moved that the revenues of the Irish Church exceeded the requirements of the Protestant Establishment, and that the surplus ought to be applied to other purposes. To meet this motion, Lord Althorp, on June 2, announced a Special Commission of Inquiry on the Irish Church, and moved the previous question. This was carried by 396 to 120, nearly all the Tories voting with the Government. The appointment of the Commission, however, at once brought the differences which existed among the members of the Cabinet to a decisive issue.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Tuesday, June 3rd [1834].

I have just read the numbers of the division in the House of Commons last night, my dear lord, and I cannot help writing to offer you my most sincere congratulations. In spite of pre-occupation of mind about my own sad affairs, my thoughts are always with you, and whatever touches your fame, or is the cause of satisfaction to you, affects me as though I were a member of your family. I am, therefore, most heartily glad at what has happened.

Let me know at what time you can come and see me Thursday. I shall be in town that day, and would fain profit to have a few moments' conversation with you. I have not seen you since my talk with Lady Grey. Her kindly expression of friendship for me I shall never forget. Ah, well! there is much that I

regret and much that I love in all that I am leaving behind in England.

Adieu, and God bless you!

D. LIEVEN.

[The Quadruple Alliance Treaty, signed in London on April 22, 1834, between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, rendered Don Miguel's cause hopeless. After a battle fought on May 9, Don Miguel embarked at Evora, and sailed for Genoa (May 30). Don Miguel's submission made Don Carlos' position impossible, and shortly afterwards he was landed at Portsmouth by a British man-of-war.]

Downing Street,
June 4th, 1834.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I received your note last night with all the feelings which so gratifying an expression of your confidence and affection necessarily inspired. The division was very brilliant, but I feel in the weight of the burthen imposed upon me that this success is not an unmixed subject of congratulation.

Well, there is, at last, one affair brought to a conclusion—the war in Portugal is over. It is now to be seen how Don Pedro conducts himself after his victory. Here, also, is matter for doubt as well as congratulation. I am just going to Windsor, but return to-morrow; then there is a Levée, and a Council afterwards, which, I am afraid, will leave me no time to call on you before five, when I must be in the House of Lords. If I can escape from thence, I will call on you between five and six, but I have little hope.

God bless you. Always believe in my sincere and constant affection.

Ever yours,

G.

[The Irish Church Commission brought the disunion in the Cabinet to a crisis. Mr. Stanley saw that the issue of such a Commission must eventually lead to the partial disendowment of the Church, and refused to agree to it. Sir J. Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Ripon joined him in sending in their resignations. On the 7th, Lord Althorp resigned, not being able to agree to certain clauses of the Irish Coercion Act.

Lord Grey, on laying his colleagues' resignation before the King, accompanied it with his own. On Lord Grey's retirement, the King sent for Lord Melbourne.]

To Earl Grey.

Richmond,
Wednesday evening, July 9th [1834].

The news of your having resigned came on me like a thunder-clap, my dear lord, some hours ago, for, having come out to Richmond yesterday, and having stayed on here to-day, I had no suspicion of all that was taking place.

I am most anxious to see you. To-morrow I go in to town, but only for a very short time, to see the Princesses; but on Friday pray name your own time. I shall be in town all day, and except from five to six, am free at any hour. What a series of events! but before passing judgment, I must hear from you what you have to say upon it all. For some time back I have seen you looking so harassed and anxious that I cannot help believing you must be well pleased to be quit of your daily worries. But what will come of it all? I am burning to see you; if it is possible, I will call to-morrow for a moment at Lady Grey's.

Meanwhile, my dear lord, I would reiterate to you once more, and more than ever, the assurance of my unvarying and tender friendship. It seems as though

I felt more for you now than ever I did; I cannot fully explain it all, or, rather, to do so now would take too long.

Yours ever,
D. LIEVEN.

Downing Street,
July 10th, 1834.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

Your note has touched me to the heart. In all circumstances I know the entire dependence I may place in your kindness and affection; but every new expression of them gives an increased warmth to the sentiments of attachment with which you have inspired me.

You judge rightly. My life for the last eight months has been one of such unhappiness as nobody can imagine, and as far as I am personally concerned, I rejoice at having escaped from so painful and so thankless a situation. But I feel, deeply feel, for the difficulties of the King and the country. My only comfort is that they are owing to no fault of mine.

The causes of all that has happened would require too long an explanation for the limits of a letter; but I shall be glad to talk them over with you when we meet. This pleasure, I am afraid, I cannot have to-morrow, as I have foolishly taken upon myself the burthen of going on with the Poor-law Bill, and it will require all the morning to recall my scattered thoughts, and I must be in the House of Lords at five. On Saturday I shall be more at liberty, but if you can see me, it must be rather early. God bless you.

Ever yours,
G.

To Earl Grey.

London,
Tuesday, 15th [July, 1834].

I am quite as anxious as you are, my dear lord, to have a quiet talk, and I am again in town, though for a few hours only, since I must go back to Richmond at four o'clock. If, however, you could call in passing before that hour, I should only be too happy to receive you.

My dear lord, it matters little what details you may have to communicate to me; I must tell you that the world's opinion on the subject is already formed, and this from what is publicly known of recent events. Men of both parties are agreed in their opinions, and we diplomatists, too, who during the late occurrences were by the necessities of our position entirely neutral —we are of one mind with the rest of the world in holding that you leave office with honour unimpaired, while the others remain in with theirs . . . But I must not finish the phrase, for I do not forget that I have been a diplomatist.

Adieu, my dear lord; if you cannot come and see me to-day, come Thursday between two and five, when you are sure to find me at home.

A thousand faithful regards.

Downing Street,
July 15th, 1834.

DEAREST PRINCESS,

I have only this moment got your note—three o'clock—and it is now quite impossible for me to call before four. I will do so Thursday between two and four.

Melbourne is gone to Windsor with the new arrangement which was settled last night at a meeting of the remaining members of the Cabinet. Melbourne, First Lord; Duncannon, Home Secretary; Sir J. Hobhouse, Woods and Forests, and with a seat in the Cabinet. All the rest as they were. Howick will not stay, and therefore his place in the Home Office will also be to be filled up.*

It was the only thing to be done, and is done with my concurrence and at my desire. As the King and all of them wished me to stay, and I found it impossible, there cannot be imputed to them any want of consideration for me.

Excuse haste. God bless you.

Ever yours,

G.

P.S.—Don't mention the arrangement till you hear it from others.

[Princess Lieven left England for Petersburg in the first days of August. Before her departure the Duchess-Countess of Sutherland presented to the Princess a bracelet in the name of the ladies of London society, who had subscribed to offer her this token of regard, in souvenir of the many years she had spent in England and the position she had occupied as one of the lady patronesses of Almack's.]

To Earl Grey.

Hamburg,
Aug. 6th, 1834.

I only reached Hamburg this morning, my dear lord. The crossing was execrable, everybody was ill, and I almost died of it. I have eaten nothing since I left London, and have arrived here so

* Under-Secretary, January 13 to July 23, 1834.

weak that I cannot stand, with my back all broken, and not an idea left. Pity me, for I deserve it. How am I ever going to live away from my dearly-beloved England, and without ever seeing you? I start on my journey to-morrow.

Good-bye. Think of me often and lovingly, and write to me. Give Lady Grey many tender messages from me. Tell her how much her name on the famous bracelet touched and flattered me, and how this bracelet is in my eyes the greatest honour that has ever been paid me. How proud I am of it, and how happy, and yet how sad! You will understand all this, and Lady Grey, also. I have not the strength to write to her, but tell her all this from me, I beg of you.

What between weakness, fatigue, and sorrow, I am almost dead. Adieu, and again adieu.

END OF VOL. II.

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